

67083

ARS ISLAMICA

PUBLISHED BY THE RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART
DIVISION OF FINE ARTS · UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

MCMXXXV

VOLUME II
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS
ANN ARBOR

PRINTED IN U.S.A. BY THE ANN ARBOR PRESS

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FIG. 1—LE MASJID-I DJUM'A, VU DU SUD-EST

LES DOCUMENTS SUR LESQUELS EST BASÉE LA PRÉSENTE ÉTUDE ONT ÉTÉ RECUEILLIS SUR place durant un séjour d'une semaine à İsfahân, en Mai 1934. Mon compagnon de voyage, M. Jean Sauvaget qui, de son côté, releva les inscriptions du Masdjid-i djum'a m'a aimablement communiqué les traductions que je citerai et utiliserai plus loin.

Si nous avons pu, l'un et l'autre, accomplir notre tâche en toute liberté, nous le devons tout particulièrement à S. E. Kasein Soury İsrafil, Gouverneur d'İsfahân, auquel je tiens à adresser ici, avec mon respectueux souvenir, l'expression de ma très vive gratitude.

Le Masdjid-i djum'a, souvent cité dans les manuels comme un type monumental expressif est demeuré jusqu'à ce jour imparfaitement connu. M. Friedrich Sarre dont il faut, en stricte équité, évoquer le nom et l'œuvre au début de toute étude sur l'art islamique de la Perse, n'eût point manqué, dans sa publication magistrale, de consacrer à cette mosquée célèbre des pages définitives s'il lui eût été possible d'y pénétrer: mais l'accès de l'édifice était alors strictement interdit aux non-musulmans.¹ Plus tard M. E. Diez, au cours d'une visite rapide en compagnie de M. O. Niedermayer ne fut autorisé qu'à prendre quelques photographies.² Aussi en était-on réduit, jusqu'à ces derniers mois, à se référer au plan de la mosquée publié par Pascal Coste.³ Ce dessin, malgré de nombreuses inexactitudes de détail, reste suffisant pour rendre compte des dispositions générales de la plus grande partie de l'édifice, mais il est incomplet et ne contient pas, notamment, les constructions situées au Nord, sur une longueur de soixante mètres. Beaucoup plus satisfaisant est le plan d'ensemble de la mosquée et de ses annexes relevé en 1933 par deux architectes français M. M. Beaudouin et Herbé et publié par M. Beaudouin, avec une réduction excessive, dans une brochure consacrée à l'urbanisme sous les Safavides.⁴ C'est ce plan que j'ai utilisé au départ de mes recherches et qui après vérifications et corrections sur place m'a servi à établir le croquis de la Fig. 2. J'ai relevé, en outre, les parties dont je donne ci-après le détail et pris moi-même les photographies qui accompagnent cet article.

¹ F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin, 1901-1904, p. 75.

² E. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Berlin, 1917, p. 107.

³ Pascal Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse*, Paris, 1867, Pl. IV.—Cf. la Pl. V, donnant une vue d'ensemble de la cour et la description de la mosquée, dans le texte explicatif, pp. 21 et 22. P. Coste désigne le monument sous le nom de *Mosquée du Vendredi*: il serait plus exact de traduire: *Mosquée de la Congrégation du Vendredi*. Chardin l'appelle la *Vieille Mosquée de la Congrégation*. (Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, éd. Langlès, Paris, 1811, VIII, pp. 1-2.)

Parmi ceux qui ont reproduit et commenté les dessins de Coste voir notamment E. Diez, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-109. Les pages consacrées à la mosquée par H. Saladin, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1907, p. 331 sq., fourmillent d'erreurs et de confusions qu'il serait fastidieux de relever par le menu. Je note seulement, pour n'y plus revenir, que le détail de construction reproduit à la Fig. 256 et attribué à la grande coupole de la mosquée appartient à la *Mosquée du Cheikh Lutfullâh*, bâtie au début du XVII^e siècle.

⁴ E. Beaudouin, "İspahan sous les grands chahs," *Revue Urbanisme*, Paris, 1933, p. 48.

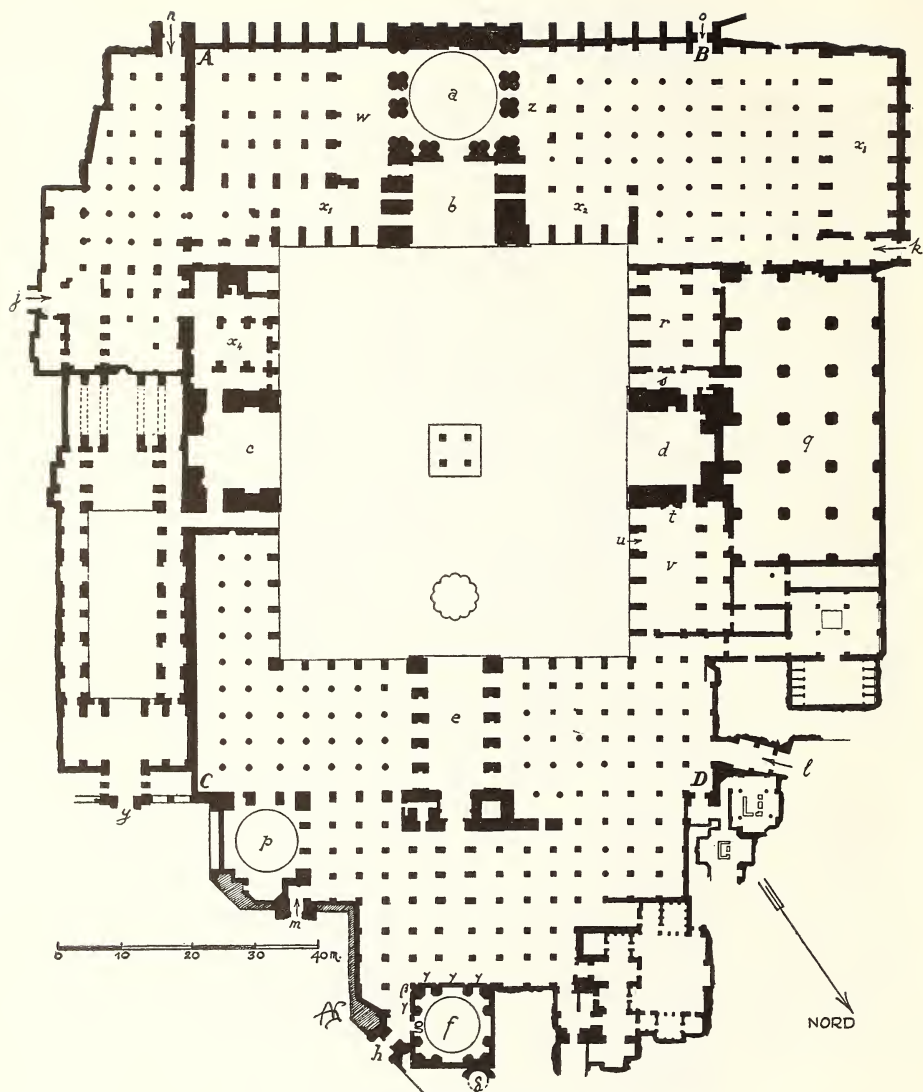


FIG. 2—MASJID-I DIUM'A: PLAN



FIG. 3.—MASJID-I DJUM'A, COUR; FACE SUD



FIG. 4—MASJID-I DJUM'A, COUR: ANGLE SUD-OUEST



FIG. 5—MASJID-I DJUM'A. COUR: ANGLE NORD-OUEST

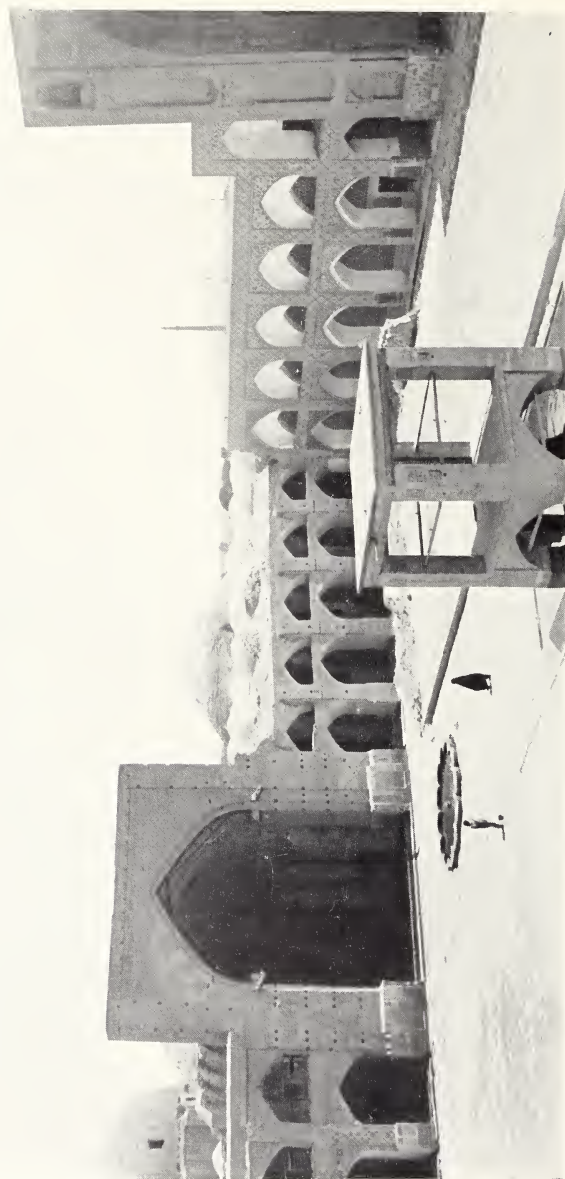


FIG. 6—MASJID-I DJUMA, COUR: ANGLE NORD-EST

DESCRIPTION DU MONUMENT

La mosquée et ses annexes occupent actuellement un terrain irrégulier dont les plus grandes dimensions mesurent 170 mètres du Nord au Sud et 140 mètres de l'Est à l'Ouest. Les constructions, dont on ne peut embrasser l'ensemble que du toit des maisons voisines (*Fig. 1*), sont bordées de rues étroites ou enchevêtrées dans les boutiques du bazar. Au Nord-Est, une madrasa, contiguë à la mosquée avec laquelle elle communique directement, forme une composition indépendante: j'en donnerai plus loin la description séparée.⁵

LA MOSQUÉE

PLAN (*Fig. 2*)—Une vaste cour rectangulaire de 65 mètres sur 55, est bordée par les quatre corps de bâtiments qui constituent la mosquée proprement dite. Dans l'axe de chacune des faces s'élève un large iwân. Celui du Sud, *b*, précède une salle carrée, *a*, qui s'étend jusqu'au mur extérieur et qui contient le mihrâb principal et le minber. Les iwâns de l'Est et de l'Ouest, *c*, *d*, offrent, en plan, à quelques détails près, des dispositions symétriques. Quant à celui du Nord, *e*, moins large et plus profond que les précédents, il s'ouvre suivant des travées égales sur les bas-côtés adjacents.

Des salles diverses, de dimensions variables, ont été aménagées çà et là, notamment en bordure de la cour sur laquelle elles prennent jour par des baies régulièrement distribuées. On se rendra compte sur les photographies (*Fig. 3, 4, 5 et 6*) de la répartition des travées sur les quatre faces de la cour et de la continuité de l'ordonnance.

En dehors des salles et des iwâns, l'espace couvert est divisé en travées sensiblement égales⁶ par des points d'appui de section circulaire ou rectangulaire disposés en quinconce. Dans la région Nord-Est, les points d'appui sont, sauf un, circulaires; partout ailleurs, ils sont tantôt circulaires, tantôt rectangulaires. Ceux qui bordent la cour sont de section barlongue et de surface plus grande que les autres.

Au Nord, s'élève une salle carrée, *f*, dans laquelle on pénètre actuellement par une porte, *g*, voisine du portail, *h*. Trois portails, *j*, *k*, et *l*, conduisent à la cour. Un autre, *m*, qui s'ouvrirait au Nord-Est est aujourd'hui muré. Des portes secondaires sont percées en, *n* et *o*, dans le mur Sud.

Dans la région Nord-Ouest, des annexes diverses, notamment des latrines publiques, sont distribuées d'une manière irrégulière qui atteste des adjonctions d'époques successives. Au reste, l'inspection du plan suffirait à montrer que la mosquée a été l'objet de nombreuses transformations, portant parfois sur des régions étendues et modifiant profondément l'aspect primitif.

CONSTRUCTION ET VOÛTES—Partout où le gros-œuvre est apparent, dans les murs comme dans les voûtes, on constate l'emploi exclusif de la brique cuite⁷ et il est bien certain que

⁵ Voir *inf.* p. 37.

⁶ Dans les schémas de plan que je donne ci-contre, je n'ai pas tenu compte de certains biais et de certaines irrégularités qui proviennent de reprises et de recon-

structions ou, plus fréquemment encore, d'irrégularités et de maladresses.

⁷ Déjà noté par P. Coste, *op. cit.*, p. 21: "La construction est toute de bonnes briques cuites au four."

les enduits et les revêtements céramiques recouvrent une maçonnerie de briques identique. Mais les matériaux, d'échantillons divers, furent mis en œuvre suivant des formules variables qui peuvent fournir des indices chronologiques assez précis. J'examinerai tout d'abord dans le détail les diverses parties qui composent la mosquée en commençant par la salle du mihrâb, *a*, et par la salle Nord, *f*, qui offrent entre elles de profondes analogies. Puis je décrirai successivement les iwāns, les salles, les façades sur la cour, les quinconces, les portails et enfin, la madrasa annexe.

SALLE *a*

Limitée au Sud par le mur extérieur de la mosquée, cette salle (*Fig. 7*) qui mesure 15 mètres dans œuvre est séparée des bas-côtés et de l'iwān par de puissants piliers formés de cylindres accouplés. Vers le Nord, un mur de faible épaisseur, percé d'une baie dans l'axe, s'élève entre la salle et l'iwān: ce mur, adossé aux piliers qu'il masque en partie, est certainement de date postérieure à la salle *a*. De même, le stylobate de calcaire, grossièrement remanié, fut mis sur place après coup.

Les surfaces des piliers et des murs qui les surmontent ont été, sur dix mètres de hauteur, recouvertes d'un épais enduit lisse (*Fig. 9*). On relève cependant un détail significatif: c'est le décor de stuc qui subsiste en quelques endroits, notamment en *a*, du plan (*Fig. 7*) sur le bandeau de couronnement des piliers (*Fig. 10*). Ce décor rappelle certains ornements de Sāmarrā et de la mosquée d'Ibn Ṭūlūn.

Dans la salle elle-même, au-dessus de la partie enduite, la construction est entièrement en brique apparente, d'un appareil soigné (*Fig. 8*). Huit arcades en carène dont quatre dans le plan des faces de la salle et quatre à 45°, supportées par des trompes d'angle, déterminent une base d'appui octogonale. Au-dessus, des trompes disposées dans les angles de l'octogone et reliées entre elles par des arcs égaux forment un tambour à seize côtés que surmonte une large frise circulaire portant une inscription coufique. Le bandeau qui couronne cette frise correspond au plan de naissance de la coupole dont le profil, à l'intrados comme à l'extrados, est un arc en carène très voisin d'un arc brisé.⁸ A l'intrados, la maçonnerie de brique est divisée en huit fuseaux égaux par huit grands-arcs qui partant de la clé se projettent suivant les axes principaux et diagonaux du carré de base. Des restes d'un décor de stuc subsistent dans les écoinçons des arcades inférieures. Autant qu'on en peut juger, ce décor, formé d'enroulements de feuillages de grande échelle, se détachait sur un fond de brique laissé apparent. En tout cas, il est peu probable que toute la surface de la brique ait été recouverte de stuc. Il semble bien, au contraire, que le décorateur ait tiré un effet ornemental de l'opposition de matière et de couleur entre la terre cuite et le stuc.⁹

A l'extérieur (*Fig. 11*) la coupole retombe sur un premier tambour à seize pans que

⁸ Cette coupole, de même que celle de la salle Nord, marque une étape, bien datée, de l'évolution du dôme en Perse.—Voir sur ce sujet, l'article de M. Creswell, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 681-701. Cf. 1915, p. 810.

⁹ Au Masjid-i djum'a d'Ardistān, le berceau du ves-

tibule est décoré d'ornements floraux, en stuc, qui comme à Iṣfahān, laissent apparaître le fond de brique. Date: 1133 (cf. A. U. Pope, "Some recently discovered seldjūk stucco," *Ars Islamica*, I, 1, 1934, p. 114 et Fig. 5).

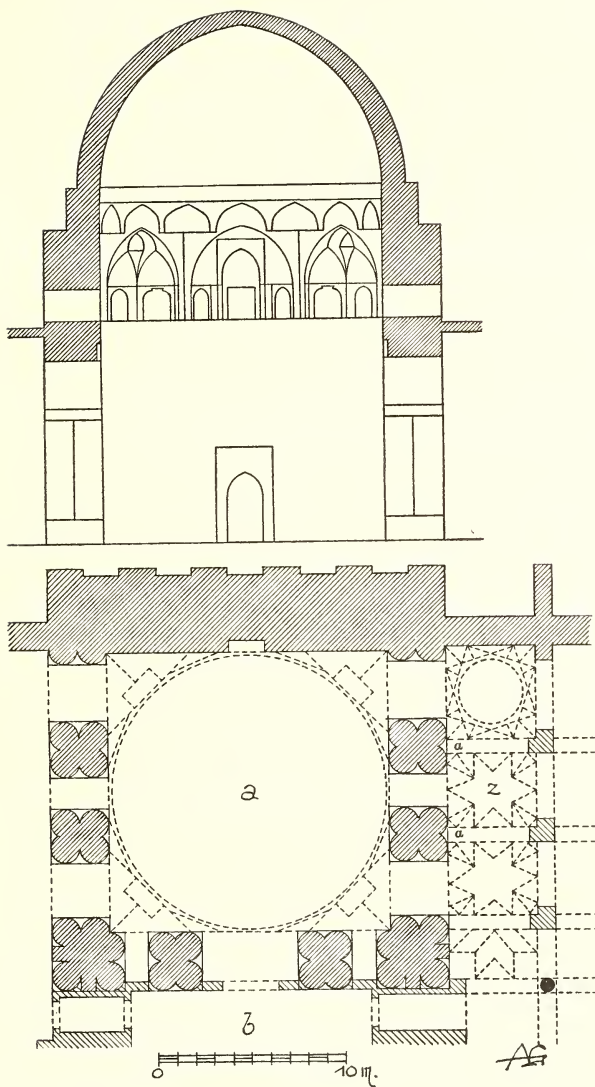


FIG. 7—MASJID-I DIUM'A, SALLE a: PLAN ET COUPE

supporte un second tambour octogonal de même diamètre que la base carrée de la salle. Toutes les surfaces, planes ou gauches, sont appareillées en brique, sans aucun décor ni revêtement.

L'inscription coufique qui se déroule à la base de la coupole donne la date de la construction:

"Le pauvre serviteur qui a besoin de la miséricorde de Dieu, al-Hasan, fils d'Alī, fils d'Ishāq a ordonné de construire cette coupole au temps du sulṭān . . . (titres) Malik-Shāh, fils de Muḥammad . . . La construction a été dirigée par Abū'l-Faṭḥ, fils de Muḥammad, le trésorier."

Le règne de Malik-Shāh dont İsfahān fut la résidence favorite s'étend de 465 à 485 H. C'est entre ces limites que selon l'inscription fut construite la "coupole." Certainement les trompes et les arcs sur lesquels elle s'appuie, c'est à dire toute la partie où la brique est restée apparente furent bâtis en même temps que le dôme lui-même et vraisemblablement le mot "coupole" qui figure dans l'inscription doit désigner la salle tout entière.¹⁰

SALLE f

Cette salle actuellement inutilisée et laissée à l'abandon est presque intacte (*Fig. 13 et suiv.*). La porte, *g* (*Fig. 13*), par laquelle on y pénètre aujourd'hui répond à une transformation postérieure. En effet: les éléments d'une inscription coufique qui apparaissent en *β*, sur le parement extérieur du mur, sont en partie masqués par les doubleaux et les voûtes construits après coup. Il en est de même des parties de mur qui réunissent les piles de maçonnerie, au Sud et à l'Est et qui furent élevées sans doute en même temps que les voûtes voisines. Primitivement, la salle s'ouvrait largement vers le Sud et l'Est alors que les niches rectangulaires des faces Nord et Ouest remontent à l'état primitif.

Le portail voisin, *h*, comme nous le verrons plus loin est bien postérieur à la salle elle-même. Le mur extérieur qui s'y rattache est en majeure partie détruit: il devait se raccorder à des constructions, aujourd'hui disparues, appuyées à la salle et qui en étaient peut-être des dépendances. On ne peut que signaler les restes d'un pan de mur cylindrique, *δ*, limitant une chambre ou un escalier, qui apparaît parmi les décombres de boutiques modernes en ruines.^{11a}

Sur la salle elle-même, le plan et la coupe de la *Fig. 13* et les photographies des *Fig. 14, 16* et *suiv.* me dispenseront d'une description détaillée. Au reste, comme je le disais plus haut l'analogie est saisissante entre les procédés mis en œuvre et ceux que j'ai signalés dans la

¹⁰ On ne saurait affirmer, il est vrai, que la partie des murs recouverte d'enduits et les piliers qui limitent la salle remontent à la même époque que la coupole. Le style du décor des abaqes qui couronnent les piliers permettrait, à la rigueur, de leur attribuer une date plus ancienne et de supposer que la salle du mihrāb existait déjà avant Malik-Shāh, sans qu'on puisse préciser de quelle manière elle était couverte. S'il en était ainsi, on

se serait borné, entre 465 et 485, à surélever les murs de la salle et à construire la coupole. Ce n'est là qu'une hypothèse, et des plus hasardeuses: il suffirait, pour trancher la question, d'examiner l'appareil des piliers et des murs recouverts d'enduits en y pratiquant quelques sondages.

^{11a} On pourrait supposer que ce mur cylindrique est un vestige du minaret primitif de la mosquée.

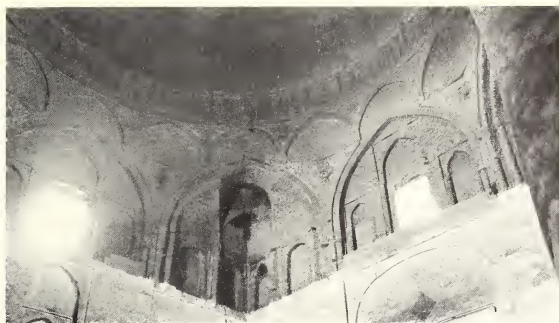


FIG. 8—SALLE a: COUPOLE



FIG. 9—SALLE a: PILIERS



FIG. 10—ABAQUE DECORÉE



FIG. 11—COUPOLE SUD



FIG. 12—COUPOLE NORD

salle *a*, notamment les combinaisons d'arcs et de trompes par lesquelles on passe du carré de la salle au cercle de base de la coupole. De part et d'autre un bandeau portant une inscription coufique se déroule à la base de la coupole. Il convient toutefois de marquer certaines différences entre les formules décoratives utilisées dans une salle et dans l'autre. Ici, aucune trace d'un décor de stuc comparable à celui dont les restes subsistent dans la salle du mihrâb: par contre, la technique particulière de la maçonnerie de brique mérite une analyse.

Le principe adopté apparaît nettement dans l'exemple ci-contre (*Fig. 18, a*) où les briques sont séparées par des joints horizontaux de 1 centimètre d'épaisseur alors que les joints verticaux atteignent 3 centimètres. En outre, les joints horizontaux sont remplis de mortier jusqu'au parement du mur alors que, dans les joints verticaux, le mortier a été profondément incisé suivant une étoile à quatre branches. Le même procédé fut utilisé dans l'appareil de certains arcs et dans celui des colonnettes engagées ainsi que dans les bandeaux et les panneaux d'inscriptions coufiques: quant aux caractères, ils sont formés d'un assemblage de pièces de terre cuite en saillie et se détachent en clair sur le ton plus sombre du parement de brique aux joints incisés. On observe un dispositif semblable au-dessus des niches latérales dans les écoinçons des arcs en carène où des briques en losange font saillie sur un fond d'étoiles à six branches (*Fig. 18, c*). Ailleurs joints horizontaux et joints verticaux ont la même largeur mais les briques sont disposées tantôt à plat, tantôt sur champ, laissant entre elles de place en place, une surface carrée où se dessine un ornement géométrique simple (*Fig. 18, b*).^{11b}

Dans les écoinçons des niches d'axe comme dans le tympan des niches latérales, le décor, plus riche, est obtenu par un revêtement indépendant de la structure: des baguettes de terre cuite y sont disposées en arabesques géométriques sur un fond de mortier: dans le mortier lui-même tantôt on a incisé un décor étoilé (*niches d'axe*), tantôt on a disposé en étoiles de menus fragments de terre cuite (*niches latérales*).

A l'intrados de la coupole, un bandeau en saillie se développe suivant une arabesque de grande échelle dont les éléments se rattachent à un pentagone régulier placé à la clé de la voûte. Dans les panneaux ainsi formés, des joints blancs dessinent des lignes géométriques ou font apparaître un semis régulier de carrés, d'étoiles et de croix à branches égales (*Fig. 16 et 17*). Le caractère de ce décor rappelle celui de certains tapis de Yomût ou de Khîwa.

^{11b} On retrouve un mode de décoration comparable dans le minâret Sükh al-gahlî à Baghdâd bâti au plus tard au XI^e siècle. (Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, II, p. 156 sq. et Fig. 192; III, Pl. XLVII). Toutefois, dans ce cas, les ornements seraient estampés sur des briques d'une largeur égale à leur hauteur.

D'autre part, si l'indication fournie par M. Sarre est exacte ce procédé serait resté en usage pendant une longue période: il aurait, en effet, été employé à Sul-

tāniya, dans la Madrasa de Sultan Çelebi Oghlu, qui date du début du XIV^e siècle (Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, pp. 22 et 23 et Figs. 21 et 22). Je n'ai pu visiter cette madrasa lors de mon passage à Sul-tāniya mais en d'autres villes notamment au tombeau de Kumm voisin de la porte de Kāshān (Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 15) comme à la mosquée de Varāmīn, la décoration, d'aspect analogue, est formée par un enduit de stuc sur lequel sont simulées des briques (cf. *inf.* p. 28).

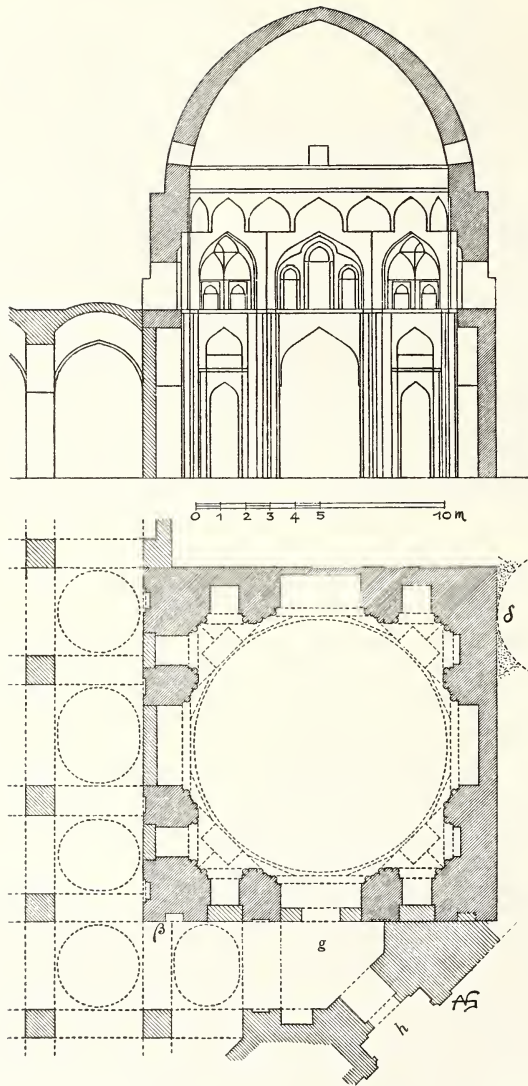


FIG. 13—SALLE NORD: PLAN ET COUPE

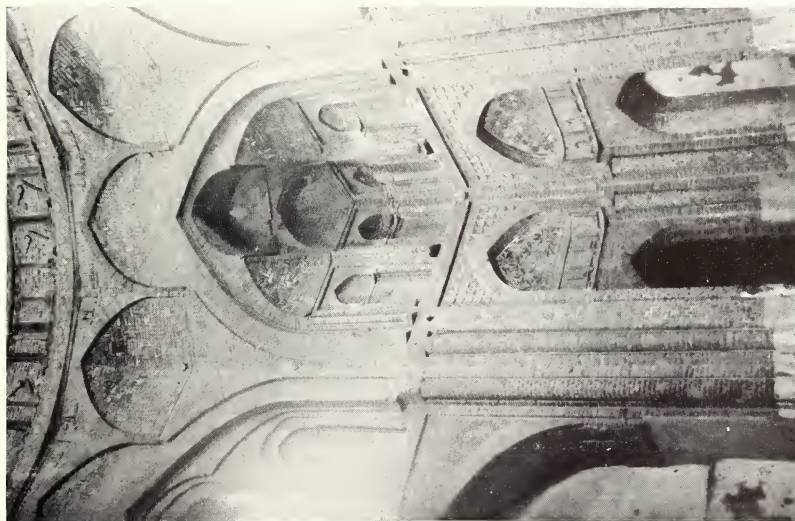


FIG. 14—SALLE NORD



FIG. 15—PORTAIL DU NORD-EST

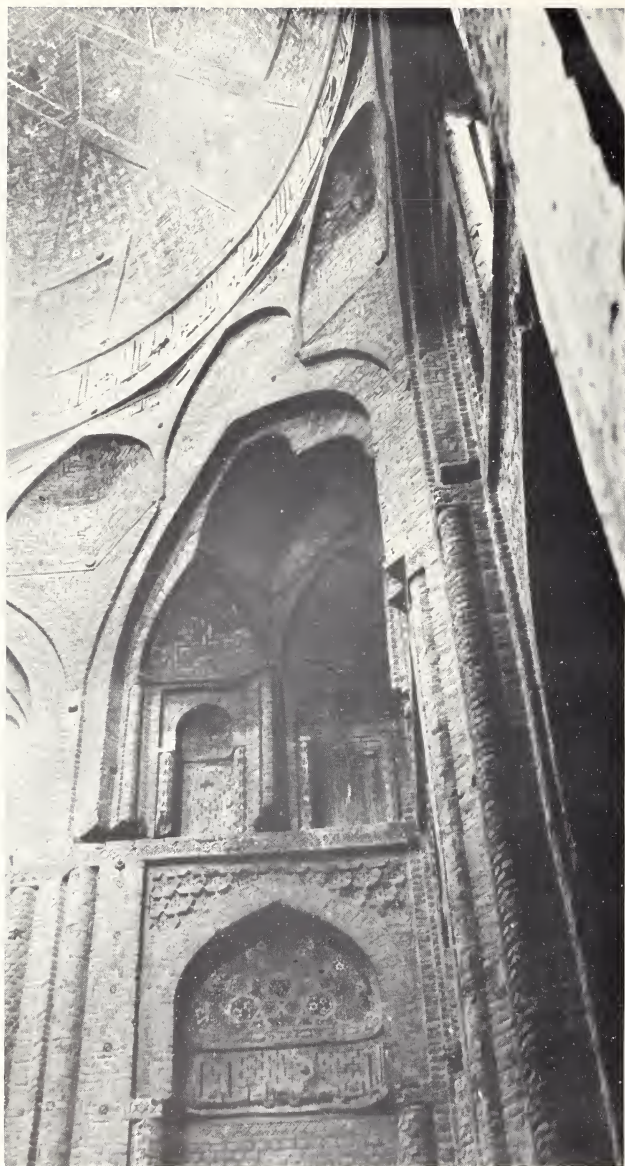


FIG. 16—SALLE NORD



FIG. 17—SALLE NORD



FIG. 21.—PILES DE L'ĪWÂN NORD



FIG. 22.—TRAVÉES CONTIGÜES À L'ĪWÂN NORD

A l'intrados comme à l'extrados, la section verticale de la coupole est un arc en carène, très voisin d'un arc brisé. A l'extérieur, le tambour octogonal sur lequel repose la voûte émerge au-dessus du plan des toitures voisines (*Fig. 12*). Sur chacune de ses faces, font saillie, outre les pilastres d'angle, deux pilastres intermédiaires. Ce tambour devait être couronné par une corniche aujourd'hui détruite.

La construction est datée avec exactitude. Dans l'inscription coufique de la frise, à la naissance de la coupole, on lit parmi les versets coraniques: "*Au cours de l'année 481*" (1088-89). Ainsi, cette coupole fut construite sous le règne de Malik *Shāh* comme celle du mihrāb à laquelle on peut attribuer une date très voisine.

On remarquera d'autre part que ni les versets coraniques qui figurent dans l'inscription ni ceux qu'on lit sur les parois de la salle ne permettent de le considérer comme un mausolée. D'après certain texte dont je ferai état plus loin, c'était peut-être une bibliothèque¹² mais on y pourrait voir également un abri pour une fontaine.

İWÂN NORD

Il forme un vaisseau de 9 mètres 40 de large sur 22 mètres de longueur, proportion qui correspond semblablement à $\frac{\sqrt{3}}{4}$ et peut être obtenue en construisant sur le plus grand côté du rectangle deux triangles équilatéraux (*Fig. 19*).

L'iwān s'ouvre sur les bas-côtés suivant cinq travées égales séparées par des points d'appui barlongs cantonnés de colonnettes (*Fig. 21 et 22*). Sur la face Nord de chaque pilier est creusé un mihrāb de section méplate. On notera que ces piliers sont légèrement décalés par rapport aux alignements des points d'appui des bas-côtés, ce qui laisse penser, indépendamment de toute autre considération, que l'iwān est postérieur aux bas-côtés. La façade de l'iwān, sur la cour, et l'arc de tête en carène datent d'une restauration d'époque indéterminée au cours de laquelle il semble bien qu'on ait reproduit les dispositions anciennes. Ainsi, le berceau continu qui couvre l'iwān doit remonter à la construction primitive ainsi que les arcs en carène bandés entre les piliers latéraux. La surface de l'intrados de ces arcs, appareillés par tranches verticales, est décorée suivant le procédé précédemment observé dans la salle Nord: des cavités carrées, de l'épaisseur d'une brique, ménagées entre deux briques courantes d'une même tranche, ont été remplies d'une couche de mortier où l'on a incisé à la pointe de menus ornements géométriques. Ces points d'ombre déterminent sur le douelle un réseau de lignes inclinées à 45° sur les joints qui séparent les tranches. Nous retrouverons dans la façade de l'iwān Est l'utilisation d'un procédé analogue qui, en l'absence de toute inscription datée, peut nous fournir par comparaison un indice chronologique. Il semble bien que partout où il apparaît, on se trouve en présence d'éléments de constructions seldjoukides.

Il est difficile d'attribuer une date exacte au socle qui règne à la base des murs, non seulement dans cet iwān Nord, mais encore dans les trois autres et même sur la majeure partie des piles courantes des façades sur la cour. Dans les iwāns, ce socle est flanqué de

¹² Voir *inf.* p. 38.

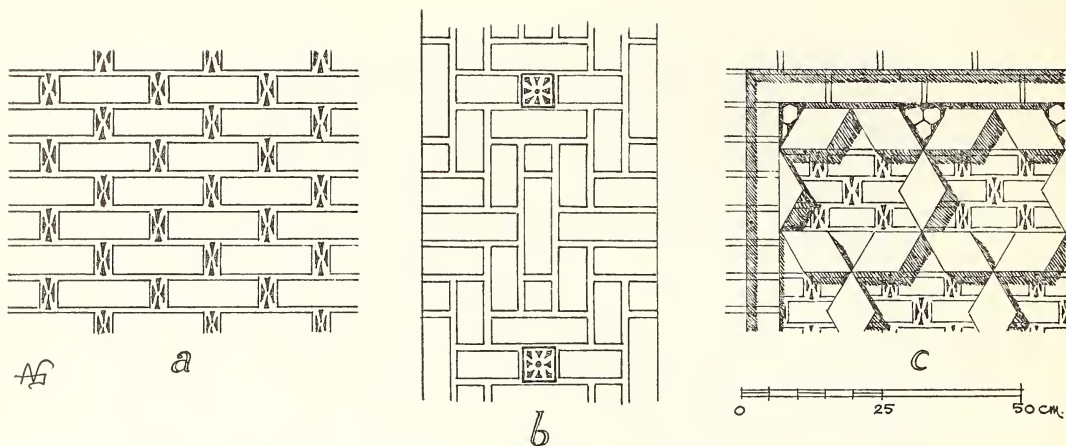


FIG. 18—SALLE NORD: DÉTAILS

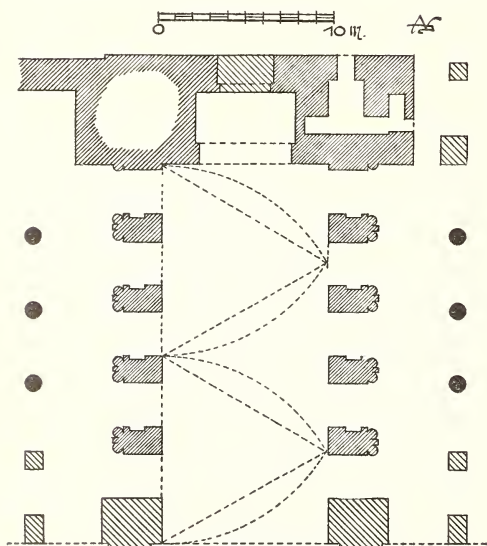


FIG. 19—ĪWĀN NORD: PLAN

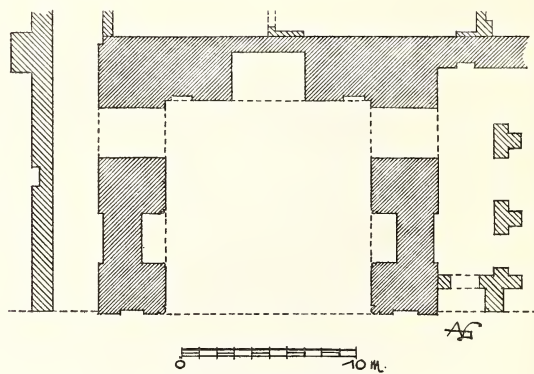


FIG. 20—ĪWĀN EST: PLAN

colonnets d'angle (voir notamment *Fig. 24*) à base bulbeuse et chapiteaux alvéolés.¹³ Le fût est tantôt lisse (*Fig. 24*, à gauche), tantôt décoré de stries (*Fig. 24*, à droite). Selon Chardin qui signale ce soubassement,¹⁴ *Shāh 'Abbās* aurait songé à le transporter dans sa mosquée, ce qui laisse penser qu'on pouvait le détacher sans compromettre la solidité de la construction. En fait il semble avoir été plaqué après coup contre le massif de brique de la construction seldjoukide et l'on peut supposer qu'il fut mis en place lorsque la cour reçut, au XV^e siècle, ses plus anciens revêtements céramiques.

L'*īwān* se termine, vers le Nord, par une niche de plan rectangulaire remaniée à l'époque moderne mais qui, comme on s'en rend compte sur la paroi extérieure Nord, occupe l'emplacement d'une porte. Celle-ci s'ouvrait entre deux puissants massifs de maçonnerie où sont ménagés des espaces vides—sans doute des cages d'escalier—actuellement inaccessibles. On peut voir là les massifs de deux minarets flanquant la principale porte d'entrée de la mosquée qui s'ouvrait dans l'axe de la cour sur le vestibule formé par l'*īwān* Nord.

ĪWĀN EST

Cet *īwān* est implanté suivant un carré (*Fig. 20*). Remanié et décoré à l'époque moderne, il conserve cependant, dans sa façade sur cour, des éléments importants de sa structure primitive (*Fig. 23*). La restauration récente du sommet, nettement marquée par la teinte plus claire de la maçonnerie, n'a point modifié les grandes lignes de la composition et, d'autre part, les détails de l'appareil de brique, tels qu'ils apparaissent sur les piles de retombée de l'arc, (*Fig. 23 et 24*), permettent de faire remonter la construction de l'*īwān* à l'époque seldjoukide. On y relève, en effet, comme dans la salle Nord: 1° des inscriptions coufiques et des rosaces composées d'éléments de terre cuite disposés en saillie sur un fond de mortier; 2° des panneaux où, sur le parement de briques à plat et sur champ, se détachent çà et là des motifs étoilés, incisés dans le mortier. Dans d'autres panneaux, des motifs semblables dessinent un réseau de lignes à 45°. On retrouve le même décor à la base des murs sur les faces intérieures de l'*īwān*.

L'*īwān* est couvert d'une voûte formée d'alvéoles de grande échelle, en majeure partie détruites (*Fig. 25*) en sorte qu'on y peut observer les particularités du mode de construction. Dans ces alvéoles, qui ne jouent qu'un rôle décoratif, les prismes et les raccords cylindriques sont formés de menues cloisons de plâtre maintenues en place par une armature de colonnettes de terre cuite. Celles-ci sont disposées en encorbellement ou suspendues à la voûte de brique. Les liaisons entre ces frères éléments sont assurées par des scellements de plâtre ou même par des cordelettes.

Ce décor alvéolé remonte à la même époque que les revêtements de stuc et de céramique des murs de l'*īwān*; et toute l'ornementation est datée par l'inscription tracée sur le

¹³ H. Saladin donne (*op. cit.*, *Fig. 255*) le détail d'une de ces colonnettes d'angle d'après un cliché de Gervais-Courtelmont. La légende de l'image est inexacte.

¹⁴ "... le bas, a huit pieds de hauteur ... est revêtu

de belles tables de porphyre ondé et marbré, qui sont celles qu'Abbas-le-Grand voulait faire enlever pour servir à la Mosquée Royale comme je l'ai observé." (Chardin, *éd. cit.*, VII, pp. 351-352).

bandeau de faïence qui se développe à la naissance de la voûte. On y lit le nom de Shāh Sulaimān, qui régna entre 1077 et 1105 H. Il faut donc placer la transformation de l'īwān durant cette période, c'est à dire entre 1666 et 1693 de J.C.^{14a}

C'est de cette époque que datent les enduits des parties hautes où est simulé un appareil de brique aux lignes de joints faiblement accusés. Sur le tableau de la baie de l'angle Sud-Est revêtu de stuc (*Fig. 26*), on a tracé également un appareil de brique mais il est enrichi de nombreux motifs, étoiles variées ou inscriptions, d'un relief coloré dont le caractère indique une date beaucoup plus ancienne que les enduits des parois de l'īwān. Ce décor n'est pas postérieur au XV^e siècle¹⁵ et les noms des treize imāms qui y sont tracés semblent attester son origine mogole.

ĪWĀN SUD

Dans son ensemble, l'īwān donne aujourd'hui l'impression d'une construction safavide et rappelle par son caractère les īwāns de la mosquée de Shāh 'Abbās. Qu'il ait été remanié, et même reconstruit en partie, surtout dans les parties hautes, c'est de qu'attestent les nombreuses inscriptions réparties sur ses murs et dans sa voûte d'alvéoles. Une de ces inscriptions, située sur l'alvéole médian, à une grande hauteur, est d'une lecture particulièrement difficile. M. J. Sauvaget a lu:

"Le sultān . . . Abū Naṣr Ḥasan . . . a ordonné de remettre en état les parties de cette puissante mosquée qui se trouvaient délabrées, de refaire cette couverture élevée, qui était tombée en ruines et d'amener l'eau . . . en l'année 88 (sic ?)."

Si cette lecture est exacte, les titres du prince conduisent à l'identifier à l'Aḳ-Koyūnlū Ūzūn-Ḥasan qui régna de 857 à 883 (1453-1478). Les travaux commémorés ici dateraient donc de la fin de son règne, sans doute de 880. En me communiquant ces informations, M. Sauvaget ajoute que "le zéro pouvant être aisément confondu avec un point diacritique, il est possible que le texte porte en réalité 880." Il serait fort malaisé, par ailleurs, de fixer avec exactitude l'importance et la qualité des travaux ordonnés sous le règne de Ūzūn-Ḥasan puisque l'īwān fut l'objet de multiples restaurations postérieures accomplies au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle par les Safavides:

1. Un petit carreau de faïence, encastré dans la paroi Sud de l'īwān, et qui ne semble pas antérieure au XVI^e siècle, porte:

"Œuvre du maître Ibrāhīm, fils du maître Ismā'il, d'Iṣfahān."

2. Sur un bandeau de faïence, placé à la naissance des voûtes, une inscription persane commémore la restauration de la mosquée (*ta' mīr-i in masjid*) par Shāh Ṭahmāsp. A la fin: *"A la date de l'année 938 (1531-32) Ecrit par Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, le ḥāfiẓ, de Herāt."*

^{14a} Au fond de la niche d'axe, à l'Est. (Voir *Fig. 30*), subsistent les piedroits d'une porte. Celle-ci dut être murée dès le XVI^e siècle, lorsqu'on construisit la madrasa.

¹⁵ On trouve des revêtements de stuc simulant des

briques avec décor suivant les joints verticaux à Kumm (Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 15) et dans la Mosquée de Shaykh Bayezid à Bostam (*Ibid.*, *Fig. 164*). Voir également *inf. Fig. 27*, où un fragment d'enduit analogue subsiste au-dessus du mihrāb.



FIG. 23—IWÂN EST

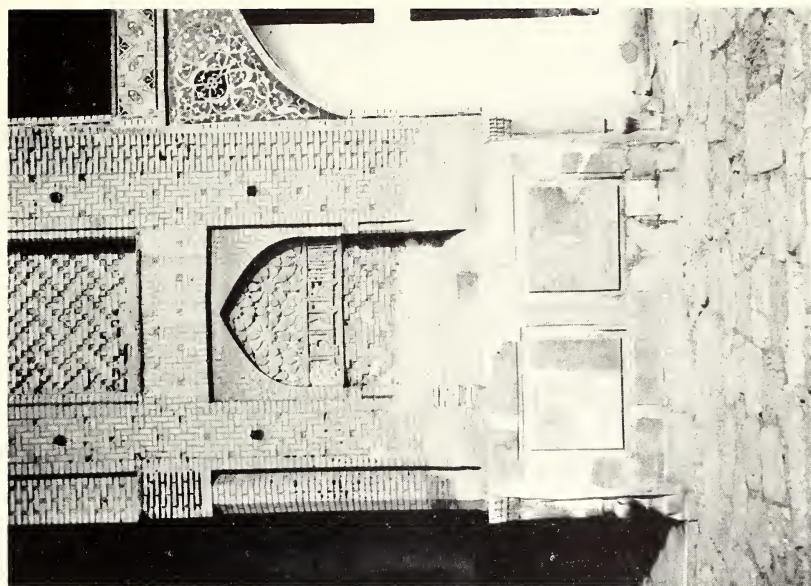


FIG. 24—IWÂN EST: DÉTAIL

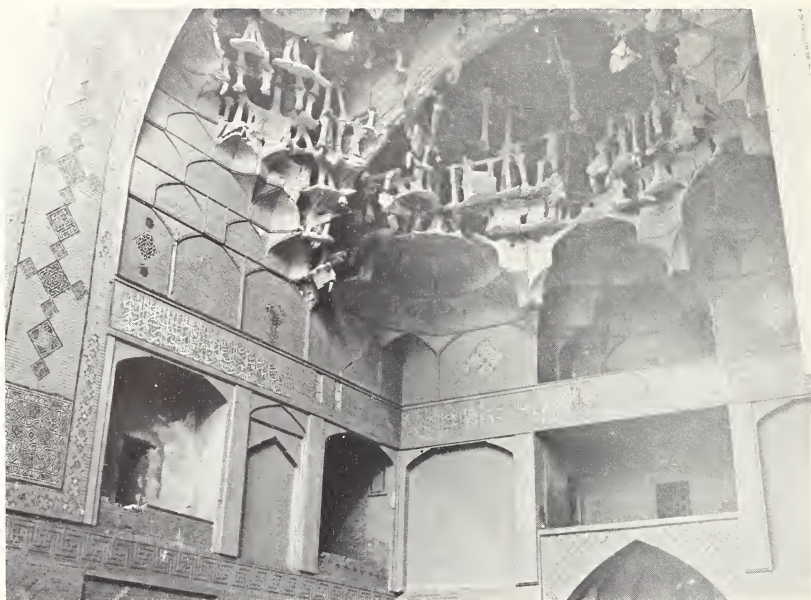


FIG. 25—ĪWĀN EST: VOÛTES

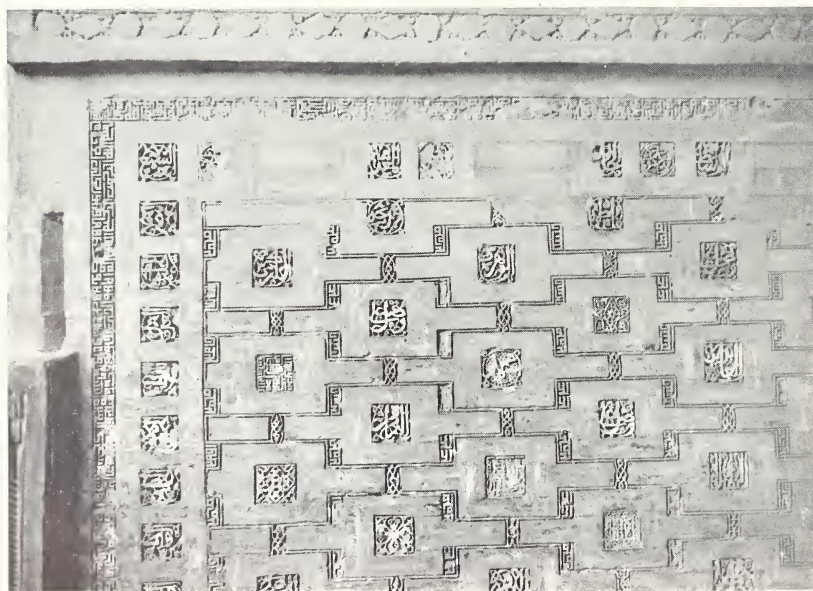


FIG. 26—ĪWĀN EST: DÉCOR DE STUC

3. Sur l'arc de tête de l'iwân, parmi le décor de faïence, des versets coraniques, puis: "A la date de l'année 938" (1531-32).

4. A la fin du bandeau de faïence, sur le mur Est, inscription persane en caractères *ta'lik*. A la fin: "Par l'œuvre du pauvre Yûsuf, fils de Tâdj al-Dîn, le constructeur (*bannâ'*), d'Işfahân." L'inscription se rapporte aux travaux du *Shâh Taḥmâsp*, commémorés précédemment.

5. Panneau de faïence, sur le mur Est: signature à la fin de l'inscription: "Écrit par le serviteur Tâdj al-Dîn, le maître (*mu'allim*), d'Işfahân." Le caractère des faïences qui portent cette inscription invite à les attribuer au règne de *Shâh Taḥmâsp*.

6. Bandeau de faïence du sommet du mur de façade de l'iwân: "Le *sultân* . . . *Shâh Taḥmâsp* . . . [avait ordonné] d'orner cette mosquée . . . Elle était sur le point de tomber en ruines, en mauvais état . . . *Shâh 'Abbâs II* . . . a ordonné de la restaurer, de la remettre en état et de l'orner, en l'année 1070" (1659-60). Signature du calligraphe: "*Muḥammad Riḍâ' al-Imâmi al-Adhami, d'Işfahân.*"

Il résulte de ces différents textes qu'en laissant de côté l'intervention, mal définie, d'Ūzûn Ḥasan, cet iwân fut l'objet de travaux importants exécutés sous les *shâhs* safavides *Taḥmâsp* et 'Abbâs II. Il semble bien que le rôle du second ait été moins important que celui de son prédécesseur encore qu'il soit difficile de déterminer la part de chacun d'eux, étant donné la persistance des procédés techniques et décoratifs en usage à l'époque safavide: on retrouve ici, comme au Masdjid-i *Shâh* et à la Madrasa de la Mère du *Shâh* l'emploi simultané de la mosaïque et des carreaux de faïence.

Toutes ces transformations, tout ce décor surajouté ne laissent apparaître aucun élément caractéristique qu'on puisse dater de l'époque seldjoukide. Cependant, si l'on admet que l'iwân Nord et l'iwân Est furent construits dès le XI^e siècle, il est certain que l'iwân Sud fut bâti vers la même époque, en même temps que la salle du *miḥrâb*. D'ailleurs les inscriptions citées plus haut ne font allusion qu'à des travaux de restauration.

Les deux minarets qui flanquent l'iwân ne sauraient, par contre, être de date fort ancienne. Ils sont en tous points semblables, comme échelle, comme proportions et comme décor, aux minarets de Masdjid-i *Shâh* et je ne les crois pas antérieurs à l'époque safavide.

ÎWÂN OUEST

L'examen de l'iwân Ouest conduit à des conclusions analogues. L'inscription tracée sur le bandeau de faïence qui en décore les parois commémore "la reconstruction de cette" *saḳifa* ^{15a} "par Ḥusain I^{er} en 1112 (1700-01)." Il est logique d'admettre que cet iwân, de mêmes dimensions que l'iwân Est et symétriquement disposé, fut construit dès l'époque seldjoukide, et couvert alors d'un berceau continu. Nous verrons plus loin que l'inscription du *miḥrâb* de la salle contiguë à l'iwân, au Nord, confirme nos déductions.^{15b}

A chaque extrémité du mur de face de l'iwân subsistent sur sa paroi interne au-dessus

^{15a} *Saḳifa* = construction couverte. Je ne pense pas qu'on puisse donner à ce mot le sens de construction

plafonnée, acception fréquente.

^{15b} Voir *inf.* p. 32.

des terrasses, les amorces de deux tourelles d'escaliers circulaires qui devaient supporter des minarets semblables à ceux de l'iwān Sud. Peut-être ces minarets ne furent-ils jamais construits. En tout cas, on ne peut en faire remonter la fondation à une date plus ancienne que le XVI^e siècle.¹⁶

SALLES DIVERSES

Une grande salle rectangulaire, *q*, de 23 mètres sur 45, située au Sud-Ouest est divisée en trois vaisseaux par deux rangées de piliers carrés et voûtée de dix-huit voûtes d'arêtes. Pascal Coste y vit "la mosquée primitive d'Abd-Lazis,"¹⁷ alors qu'il s'agit d'une adjonction moderne. Moins élevée que le bâtiment voisin et close de murs épais elle était destinée à servir de salle de prière pendant l'hiver. Une des portes par lesquelles on y accède est percée au fond d'un couloir, *s*, pris sur la salle *r*. Au-dessus de la baie, sur deux médaillons qui se détachent dans les écoinçons de stuc, on lit: "*Œuvre du chétif serviteur, Shaykh Ḥasan, fils de Sharaf al-Dīn, le constructeur (bannā') de Ruwaydashī.*" Il est impossible de fixer à cette inscription une date précise mais, de même que la salle à laquelle elle donne accès et dont, sans doute, elle commémore la construction, elle paraît remonter à une époque récente (XVIII^e ou XIX^e s.).

La salle *p*, voûtée d'une coupole sur pendentifs ne possède aucun élément qui permette d'en fixer la date. Il en est de même de la salle, *w*, qui flanque à l'Est la salle du mihrāb et dont les voûtes, en bel appareil de brique, semblent avoir été entièrement refaites depuis peu. Même incertitude pour dater les salles, *x*₁, *x*₂, *x*₃, *x*₄.

Dans la salle *v*, contiguë au Nord à l'iwān Ouest, la voûte est divisée en travées égales correspondant aux points d'appui vers la cour: dans chaque travée on retrouve la même combinaison de berceaux et de pénétrations aboutissant à la clé à une coupolette. Le mihrāb, *t*, et la porte, *u*, sont datés.

r^o Le mihrāb, en stuc, est placé dans l'axe longitudinal de la salle, contre le mur Sud (Fig. 27). C'est une œuvre aux proportions harmonieuses exécutée avec une extrême habileté. Il est daté par une longue inscription placée dans l'encadrement rectangulaire du motif:

"*Ce mihrāb admiré est une des annexes aux constructions qui ont été rebâties, au temps de la justice du sultān . . . (titres) . . . Muḥammad . . . grâce aux largesses du wezīr . . . (titres) . . . Muḥammad al-Sāwī . . . au mois de ṣafar de l'année 710*" (Juillet 1310).¹⁸

¹⁶ A la madrasa annexé à la mosquée (Voir *inf.* p. 00) et datée du XVI^e siècle, on remarque également, sur la paroi interne du mur de façade de l'iwān, au-dessus de la voûte, les restes de deux tourelles analogues. Ainsi, ces minarets flanquant les iwāns furent d'usage courant à l'époque safavide.

¹⁷ Sous le N^o 14 de la pl. IV.—Je ne sais d'où P. Coste a tiré le nom d'Abd-Lazis: il appelle également la madrasa annexe "*Mosquée d'Abd-Lazis*."

¹⁸ Ce mihrāb et ses inscriptions ont été publiés par M. van Berchem, d'après un cliché de Gervais-Courtellemont ("Une inscription du sultān mongol Uldjaitu," *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*, Paris, 1909, pp. 366-378.) L'auteur indique que le mihrāb est en faïence émaillée, alors qu'il est entièrement en stuc. L'erreur a été relevée déjà par E. Diez qui donne dans son manuel une photographie du mihrāb (*op. cit.*, p. 108 et Fig. 144).



FIG. 27—MIHRĀB *t*

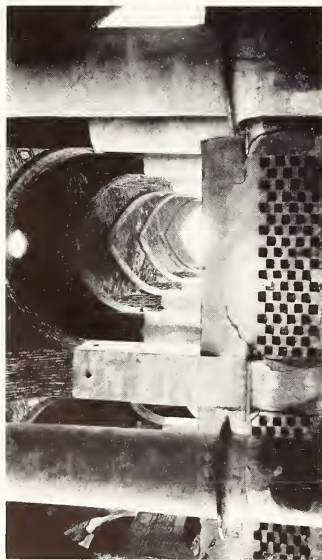


FIG. 28—TRAVÉES NORD



FIG. 29—DÉTAIL D'UNE VOÛTE



FIG. 30—ĪWÂN EST



FIG. 31—MADRASA: DÉTAIL D'UNE VOÛTE DEVANT LE MIHRÂB

Le sultan nommé dans l'inscription est évidemment Muḥammad Uldġaitū Kḥodābende et le texte est particulièrement important pour l'histoire de la mosquée, en établissant avec précision la date des maçonneries contre lesquelles il a été posé (*muḍāt*) c'est à dire le mur de l'iwān Ouest. Ce mur fut donc rebâti sous le règne d'Uldġaitū, ce qui prouve que l'iwān Ouest existait avant l'époque mongole. Ainsi se trouve confirmé ce que nous avons dit plus haut: les deux iwāns latéraux, et par conséquent l'iwān Sud, furent édifiés tous trois dès l'époque seldjoukide.

2° La porte qui s'ouvre vers la cour, en *u*, est également datée par une inscription tracée sur un panneau de faïence: ". . . 'Imād, fils de Muḡaffar . . . a ordonné d'élever cette construction, agrandie pour la salle d'hiver (*bait shiitā*) de cette noble mosquée . . . au mois de *shawwāl* de l'année 851" (Avril-Mai 1447). A la fin, signature du calligraphe: "*Saiyid Maḥmūd, le dessinateur (naḡḡāsh)*."

Il est vraisemblable que l'inscription commémore l'aménagement de la salle *u*, sous la forme où elle nous est parvenue mais il est malaisé de déterminer quelles en étaient les dispositions antérieures notamment à l'époque où fut érigé le miḡrāb. L'inscription de 1447 fixe, en tout cas, un point important pour l'histoire de la construction en datant avec précision un décor de mosaïque de faïence dont nous allons retrouver l'équivalent sur les quatre faces de la cour.

FAÇADES SUR LA COUR

La Fig. 6 qui donne la vue de l'angle Nord-Est de la cour montre clairement comment furent transformées les façades primitives des bas-côtés de la mosquée. Tout d'abord, elles ne possédaient pas d'étage, mais un seul rez-de-chaussée, une suite d'ouvertures en arc brisé correspondant aux travées des bas-côtés et ayant même naissance et même montée que les arcs bandés entre les points d'appui intérieurs. Cette ordonnance primitive apparaît très nettement sur le côté Est, à partir de l'angle Nord-Est, où cinq de ces arcs brisés s'ouvrent à l'arrière plan au fond des niches du premier étage. Vraisemblablement les points d'appui de la façade étaient de mêmes dimensions et peut-être de même forme cylindrique que ceux du quinconce intérieur.

La disposition actuelle, à deux étages, a été obtenue en renforçant les piles primitives de la façade et en construisant les deux arcs en carène superposés. Au rez-de-chaussée, une partie des arcades ainsi constituées sont restées ouvertes sur la cour; les autres ont été condamnées par des cloisons, pleines ou ajourées. Au premier étage des cellules pour les professeurs et les étudiants furent aménagées, en particulier dans les ailes où, par suite de la construction de salles nouvelles, on pouvait donner à ces cellules une profondeur suffisante. Elles furent closes de treillis de bois comme il en subsiste encore çà et là, notamment sur la face Sud (*Fig. 3*).¹⁹

¹⁹ Chardin signale ces cellules et leur destination: ". . . il y a une fort spacieuse cour, entourée de cloîtres, dont le devant est en arcades, soutenues par de gros pilastres de même ouvrage que les dômes. Des gens

d'église, des professeurs et des étudiants en théologie logent sous ces arcades-là qui sont fermées de chassiss sur le devant." (*éd. cit.*, VIII, p. 3).

Sur les quatre ailes, la façade remaniée fut entièrement recouverte d'un revêtement de mosaïque de faïence qui subsiste en majeure partie. Il offre partout les mêmes caractères techniques que le décor de la porte *u* datée de 1447 et l'on peut admettre qu'il fut mis en place à la même époque. Au reste, la Mosquée Bleue de Tabriz construite également au milieu du XV^e siècle possédait des revêtements semblables en tous points où l'on retrouve non seulement la même technique, mais encore les mêmes motifs ornementaux qu'à Işfahân.

QUINCONCES

Dans la partie de la mosquée divisée en travées carrées par des points d'appui circulaires ou rectangulaires, il serait utile de rechercher sous les enduits lisses actuels si les piliers ne furent point primitivement recouverts de stuc décoré. Peut-être en pourrait-on retrouver des traces. En tout cas, on constaterait sans doute, dans la maçonnerie de briques, entre les piliers cylindriques et les piliers rectangulaires des différences notables qui permettraient de suivre de plus près la marche de la construction.

Actuellement toutes les travées sont voûtées mais on y relève des formules diverses. C'est dans l'angle Sud-Est que les voûtes offrent les exemples les plus complexes: combinaison de trompes et d'alvéoles supportant une calotte sphérique, recouvrements d'arcs et lanterneaux (*Fig. 28*).²⁰ Les travées du Nord, notamment celles qui s'étendent entre la cour et la salle Nord, possèdent des voûtes beaucoup plus simples. Ce sont pour la plupart des coupoles sur pendentifs reposant sur quatre arcs en carène (*Fig. 29*). L'appareil de brique y est réparti par compartiments, suivant des dispositifs variés. Fréquemment, des rangs de briques noirâtres tranchent sur le fond de briques ordinaires. Certaines voûtes présentent une ouverture à la clé. Dans les travées d'axe, nettement barlongues, les arcs bandés suivant le long côté sont composés d'un arc très surbaissé réuni au point d'appui par deux quarts de cercle.

Les voûtes les plus anciennes paraissent être celles de la région Sud-Est dont l'aspect rappelle celui du Mausolée de Bâbâ Kâsem, voisin de la mosquée et daté de 741 (1340-41). Au reste, dans une inscription de faïence, très mutilée, voisine du portail du Sud-Est, M. Sauvaget a relevé le fragment suivant: "... [sul]tân [Maḥm]ūd . . . a été élevée cette construction" La restitution du nom du souverain, dont les deux dernières lettres seules ont été conservées paraît certaine: le style des faïences indiquant approximativement la date (VIII^e-IX^e H.) le seul personnage qui puisse être pris en considération est le Muzaffaride Kūṭb al-Dīn Shāh Maḥmūd, qui régna sur Işfahân de 759 (1358) à 776 (1374-75). On peut donc admettre que les voûtes de la région Sud-Est datent de la même période. Quant à celles du Nord et du Sud-Ouest, elles paraissent plus tardives et certaines d'entre elles, notamment dans le voisinage de la salle Nord, semblent remonter à l'époque moderne.

²⁰ Ce sont des voûtes du même type que M. Pope a comparées à celle du gothique tardif (*Illustrated London*

News, février, 4, 1933, p. 154).

PORTAILS

Actuellement, on pénètre dans la mosquée par une des trois portes *j*, *k*, *l*, sans aucun intérêt archéologique. Des portes secondaires ont été percées en *n* et *o*.

D'autres portails s'ouvrent au Nord. Le premier, en *h*, rarement ouvert aujourd'hui devait servir d'entrée pour la salle *f*, lorsqu'elle était encore utilisée. En partie ruiné, il était décoré d'inscriptions coraniques en faïence suivies de la date: "*Muḥarram de l'année 768*" (Septembre 1366).

Le second portail Nord, en *m*, actuellement muré, est en fort médiocre état (*Fig. 15*). D'après les éléments restés debout, c'était une construction en brique apparente, limitée par un cadre rectangulaire formé d'un large champ et d'une gorge cylindrique. Deux colonnettes engagées, aux chapiteaux caractéristiques, recevaient la retombée d'un arc—vraisemblablement en carène—dont le tympan, soutenu par une corniche à modillons, était décoré d'un panneau d'ornements géométriques.

Dans la gorge, subsistent des fragments d'une inscription coufique dont les caractères sont formés de pièces de terre cuite en saillie. Ce texte, incomplet, contient, à côté de versets coraniques, une information très importante pour l'histoire du monument: ". . . *la reconstitution de cet édifice, après qu'il eut été incendié, au cours de l'année 515*" (1121-22). Cette date correspond au règne du Seldjoukide Sandjar, fils de Malik-Shāh.

LA MADRASA

On y pénétrait par une porte située au Nord, en *y*, aujourd'hui ruinée et obstruée par des décombres. Un porche carré, puis un vestibule voûté conduisent à une longue cour rectangulaire. Au Sud s'ouvre un large iwān (*Fig. 32*) précédant la salle de prière divisée en cinq travées. Devant le mihrāb, creusé dans la paroi Sud, un lanterneau octogonal voûté d'une coupole couvre la travée d'axe. Les travées latérales sont voûtées de berceaux transversaux bandés entre les doubleaux et réunis à la clé par des calottes sphériques.

Des iwāns secondaires et des portiques à deux étages bordent la cour, à l'Ouest. Une aile symétrique, dont il ne reste pas trace, devait s'élever à l'Est.

L'édifice est entièrement construit en maçonnerie de brique, généralement recouverte d'enduits. Dans le décor de l'iwān, le revêtement céramique en carreaux bleu-d'outremer et verts se détache sur un fond d'enduit simulant des briques ordinaires et dessine des arabesques géométriques de grande échelle. Les panneaux d'arabesques florales et les inscriptions sont composés soit de mosaïques de faïence soit de carreaux. Dans la niche du mihrāb, on a employé exclusivement la mosaïque, en éléments très menus. La madrasa renferme quatre inscriptions:

1. Sur la douelle de l'arc de tête de l'iwān. Faïence: "*Murṭadā, fils d'al-Ḥasan al-'Abbāsi az-Zaynabi . . . (lacune) . . . cette construction, en faveur de ceux qui viennent y servir Dieu, en qualité de temple de Dieu, . . . au cours de l'année 968*" (1560-61).

2. Bandeau entourant la niche du mihrāb. Faïence: "*Écrit en l'année 978*" (1570-71).

3. Panneau de faïence surmontant le mihrāb; dans deux petits cartouches:

a. "Œuvre du chétif serviteur, *Shams, fils de Tādī*."

b. "*Fakhr* fils de 'Abd al-Wahhāb, de *Shīrāz*, le constructeur (bannā')—."

Ce sont là, vraisemblablement, les signatures du constructeur (a) et du faïencier (b).

4. Sur le berceau de l'īwān, dans un médaillon de faïence: "*Le serviteur qui a besoin du Très-Haut, Muṭṭadā, fils d'al-Ḥasan al-'Abbāsī az-Zaynabī: puisse Dieu l'accepter de lui. En l'année: Le temple de Dieu Très-Haut.*"

La valeur numérique des lettres du chronogramme est 989 (1581), année qui correspond à la mise en place du décor céramique du berceau de l'īwān, et peut-être à l'achèvement des travaux. La date de 968 est sans doute celle de la fondation de la madrasa dont le mihrāb n'aurait été terminé et décoré que dix ans plus tard, en 978.²¹

HISTOIRE DE LA CONSTRUCTION

Les textes historiques aussi bien que les traditions sont d'accord pour attribuer à la fondation de la mosquée une date fort ancienne.²² Un auteur du XI^e siècle, al-Māfarrūkhī,²³ relate qu'Iṣfahān possède, de son temps, deux grandes mosquées, et il ajoute: "La plus grande, qui est la vieille, est merveilleusement belle. Sa construction originelle fut élevée par les Arabes du village de Ṭayrān, qui étaient de la tribu de Taim. Puis, la ville fut agrandie par l'annexion, faite par al-Khaṣīb, fils de Muslim, des quinze villages de la région appelée Khaṣībābād: on rebâtit alors la mosquée sous le règne d'al Muṭaṣim, en l'année 226. Abū 'Alī, fils de Rustam l'agrandit sous le califat d'al-Muḥtadīr: elle comprit alors quatre corps de bâtiment (dār) . . ." L'auteur note que la mosquée est attenante à des sūks, qu'un bassin est creusé au milieu de la cour, que 5,000 personnes au moins assistent à chaque prière et que, sous chaque colonne, un *shaykh* donne son enseignement. Et il poursuit: "Devant la mosquée est une bibliothèque avec ses chambres et ses placards: tout cela a été bâti par l'ustād, le ra'īs Abu l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Ḍubbī . . . Un homme d'Iṣfahān Abū Muḍar ar-Rūmī fit faire des vantaux de porte montés dans lesquels il entre de l'or pour mille dinārs, sans compter la dépense qu'il fit pour "l'arc" (?) ²⁴ et les deux minarets construits sur les deux "*faylafa*" (?).²⁵ Il fit monter cette porte dans le passage qui donne accès de la mosquée au sūkh appelé "*Sūkh des Teinturiers.*"

²¹ La date fournie par le chronogramme, 989, n'est pas douteuse, mais pour les précédentes, 978 et 968, M. Sauvaget a lu 778 et 768. Vu le style et le décor de la madrasa, ces dates paraissent difficilement acceptables, et d'ailleurs elles ne s'accordent pas avec les chronogrammes. M. Sauvaget admet volontiers qu'il ait pu confondre 700 et 900 et vraisemblablement c'est 978 et 968 qu'il faut lire. J'ai tenu à signaler, toutefois, que ce point exigerait une vérification.

²² Certaines informations recueillies par les voyageurs sont en partie fantaisistes. C'est le cas de Chardin: "On attribue, dit-il, la fondation de la mosquée à Melekshah

. . . mais il faut qu'il n'en ait été que le restaurateur, car le dôme septentrional est inscrit du nom du roi Mansour, et le dôme méridional du nom du roi Youssouf, qui vivait bien auparavant." (*éd. cit.*, VIII, p. 4).

²³ Al-Māfarrūkhī, *Kitāb Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, Téhéran, 1312 (1933). L'ouvrage a été composé entre 465 (1072) et 485 (1092)—Je dois à M. Sauvaget la traduction du passage relatif à la grande mosquée.

²⁴ Le texte porte ṬAF, qui n'a aucun sens. Sans doute faute-lire ṬAK.

²⁵ Mot inconnu des dictionnaires.



FIG. 32—LA MADRASA ANNEXE

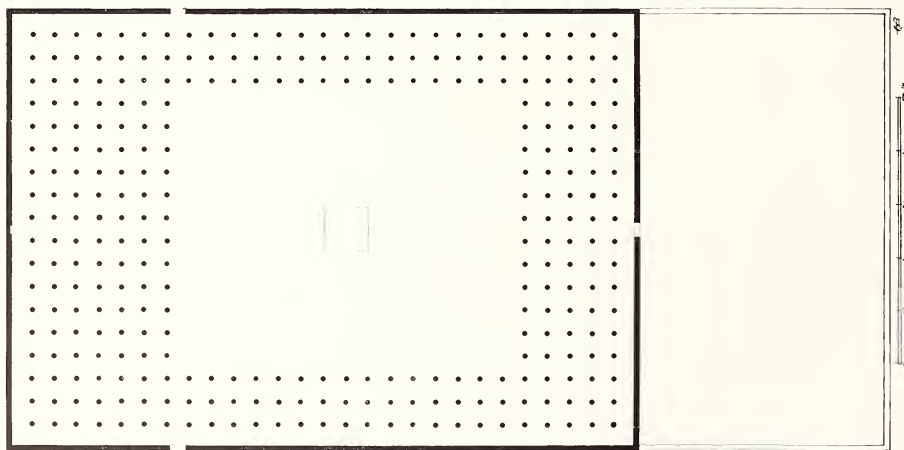


FIG. 33—Mosquée Abbaside: SCHÉMA DU PLAN

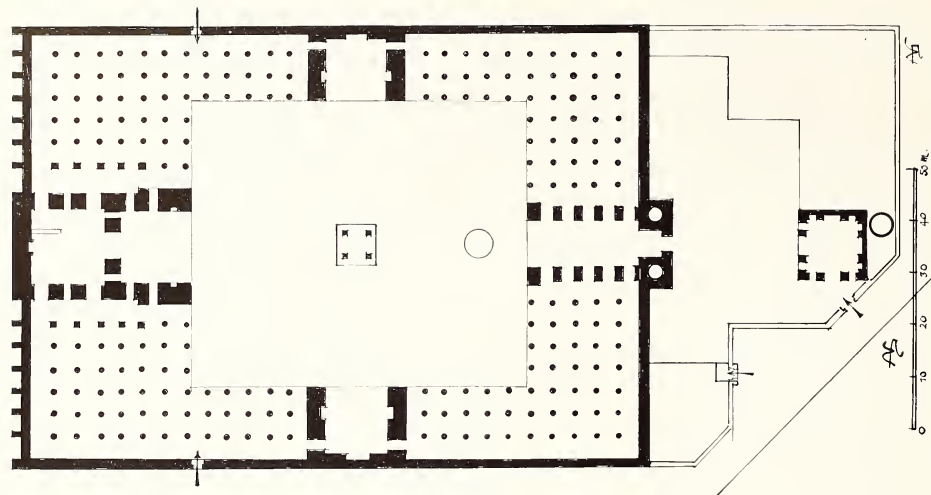


FIG. 34—Mosquée Seldjoukide: SCHÉMA DU PLAN

Ce texte est, pour l'histoire de la mosquée, le document le plus important que nous aient livré les auteurs du moyen-âge. Ailleurs on ne relève que quelques détails: al-Muḡaddasī, au X^e siècle, note que la couverture de la mosquée repose sur des colonnes ou sur des piliers cylindriques.²⁶ Yaḡūt, au XIII^e siècle, raconte que durant le siège d'İşfahân par Toghrilbeg, la détresse fut telle qu'on dut démolir la grande-mosquée pour se procurer du bois.²⁷ On peut conclure qu'en 442 (1050) l'édifice était couvert d'une terrasse supportée par des poutres de bois.²⁸

Ces diverses informations, confrontées avec l'analyse du monument, permettent d'en fixer, à grands traits, les aspects successifs.

LA MOSQUÉE ABBASIDE

Le simple examen du plan (*Fig. 2*) suggère de détacher de l'ensemble complexe des constructions le rectangle A B C D groupant autour de la cour quatre corps de bâtiments (*dār*), comme l'indique le texte d'al-Māfarrūkhī. On a observé d'autre part que certaines parties, comprises dans cet espace, ont conservé sur des surfaces plus ou moins étendues des points d'appui circulaires qu'on peut, selon toute vraisemblance, faire remonter à l'époque abbaside. Il suffit, pour restituer le plan de la mosquée à cette époque, de prolonger les files de colonnes dans les deux sens, parallèlement aux axes principaux. On obtient ainsi le schéma ci-contre (*Fig. 33*) qui répond au plan type des mosquées primitives.

On remarquera que les files de colonnes divisent le rectangle limité par le mur extérieur en 28 travées suivant le long côté et en 19 travées suivant le petit. La proportion $\frac{19}{28}$ est très voisine de la proportion $\frac{2}{3}$ qui vraisemblablement fut le point de départ de l'implantation générale. La proportion entre les côtés de la cour est égale à $\frac{13}{16}$ et très voisine des proportions $\frac{11}{13}$ et $\frac{\sqrt{2}}{\sqrt{3}}$. Cette dernière répondrait au rapport entre les côtés du carré et du triangle équilatéral inscrits dans un même cercle. Enfin, si l'on examine les proportions des parties couvertes par rapport à la cour, on compte successivement, suivant le grand axe: 5, 16 et 7 travées, et, suivant le petit: 3, 13 et 3. Rangés par ordre de grandeur ces nombres donnent la suite: 3, 5, 7, 13, 16, dont tous les termes sont premiers entre eux.

De ces constatations, je n'entends point conclure que le plan de la *Fig. 33* reproduit rigoureusement celui de la mosquée abbaside mais on admettra volontiers que l'utilisation exclusive dans le tracé de rapports entre nombres premiers ou irrationnels, ou de constructions géométriques élémentaires est une présomption en faveur de notre hypothèse. On ne saurait d'ailleurs aller beaucoup plus loin. Comme je l'ai dit plus haut, un passage de Yaḡūt laisse penser que la mosquée, couverte d'une terrasse, possédait encore en 1050 son solivage de

²⁶ Al-Muḡaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḡāsim*, éd. J. de Goeje, p. 388. L'auteur ajoute que la mosquée possédait, au Sud, un minaret de 70 coudées de hauteur. Il n'en reste pas trace aujourd'hui.

²⁷ Yaḡūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, p. 292.

²⁸ Nāṣir-i Khusraw qui visite İsfahân durant l'été de 444 (1052) ne consacre à la grande mosquée qu'une ligne insignifiante: "Une superbe mosquée où l'on fait la prière du vendredi, se trouve au centre de la ville." (*Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, éd. Schefer, Paris, 1881, p. 252).

bois: dès cette époque, les points d'appui devaient être reliés, parallèlement aux faces de la cour, par des arcs portant la charpente. Pour le reste, place et aspect des mihrābs, emplacement et disposition des portails, on ne possède aucun renseignement. Vraisemblablement une cour extérieure précédait la mosquée, au Nord.^{28a}

LA MOSQUÉE SELDJOUKIDE

Il est certain que Toghrilbeg, après la chute d'Iṣfahān dut relever de ses ruines la grande-mosquée, en partie démolie pendant l'investissement de la place. Mais de cette intervention du sultan seldjoukide, aucune attestation ne nous est parvenue. Le premier nom qui apparaisse dans les inscriptions est celui de Malik *Shāh* qui édifia la salle du mihrāb et la salle Nord: de cette dernière—bibliothèque ou abri pour une fontaine—l'identification reste douteuse. Le même auteur signale en outre deux minarets et une porte par laquelle on accédait au *Sūḳ des Teinturiers*. Cette porte ne serait-elle point celle qui s'ouvrait au fond de l'īwān Nord? Dans ce cas, les deux massifs qui la flanquent correspondraient aux soubassements des deux minarets cités plus haut et aujourd'hui disparus et l'īwān Nord aurait servi à l'époque seldjoukide de vestibule d'accès à la cour de la mosquée.

De l'analyse des divers monuments qui composent l'édifice, j'ai conclu que les īwāns Est et Ouest étaient également de fondation seldjoukide sans pouvoir d'ailleurs préciser leur date. Vraisemblablement, il fut complet sinon sous le règne de Malik-*Shāh* auquel la tradition locale attribue la fondation du Masjdīd-i djum'a, du moins sous ses successeurs immédiats. En fait il n'y eut jamais reconstruction totale: on se borna à greffer sur la mosquée abbaside la coupole du mihrāb et l'īwān Sud le passage Nord et les deux īwāns latéraux mais, sur le reste de la surface, les travées primitives subsistèrent²⁹ et, dans les quatre ailes sur la cour, les façades anciennes demeurèrent sans changement. Il faut admettre qu'on conserva également les solivages de bois puisque l'inscription du portail du Nord-Est relate la destruction de l'édifice par un incendie. La reconstruction de ce portail, sous le règne de Sandjar en 515 (1121-22), est la dernière en date des interventions seldjoukides attestée par l'épigraphie. Peut-être est-ce à la même époque qu'on remplaça par des voûtes les solivages de bois.

LA MOSQUÉE AU XIV^e ET AU XV^e SIÈCLE

Des travaux qui furent accomplis après le règne de Sandjar, au XII^e et au XIII^e siècle, aucune inscription ne nous a transmis le souvenir. Le mihrāb de stuc (*Fig. 27*) est daté de 710 (1310) et porte les noms du sultan mogol Muḥammad Uldjāitū *Khodābende* et de son vezīr. Max van Berchem a supposé que ce mihrāb fut élevé après la conversion du sultan au

^{28a} Il est probable que les salles *f* et *p*, de même que toutes les annexes voisines furent élevées, à des époques diverses sur un terrain qui, de tout temps, appartient à la mosquée.

²⁹ On observera que la salle du mihrāb est bordée, à

l'Ouest (2 de la *Fig. 2*), d'un vaisseau plus large et plus élevé que les travées voisines. Les voûtes étoilées qui le couvrent paraissent anciennes et il est probable que ce vaisseau et un autre, symétrique, à l'Est, existèrent dès l'époque seldjoukide.

chiisme "pour donner à la grande-mosquée une niche de prière appropriée au nouveau rite officiel." ³⁰ Toutefois, dans l'inscription du mihrâb, celui-ci est désigné comme "*une adjonction aux édifices reconstruits*" et il est certain que des travaux importants de restauration furent accomplis à cette époque.

Sous le règne de Muzaffaride Kuṭb al-Dīn Shāh Maḥmūd on construit le portail contigu à la salle Nord (1366) et la porte voisine de l'entrée Est. Les mosaïques de faïence qui, dans l'un et l'autre cas, portent les inscriptions, sont les plus anciens exemples de ce mode de décoration relevés dans la mosquée.

Il semble bien que ce soit également au milieu du XIV^e siècle qu'on ait agrandi la mosquée vers le Sud-Est et qu'on ait construit ou reconstruit les voûtes savamment appareillées qui subsistent dans la région voisine.

Au milieu du siècle suivant, d'importants travaux transforment profondément l'aspect de la cour. L'inscription de 851 (1447) ne date, il est vrai, que la "salle d'hiver" et sa porte, *u*, mais la similitude de la construction et du décor sur les quatre faces de la cour laissent penser que toutes les travées qui la bordent furent remaniées vers la même époque. A la disposition primitive qui comprenait une ordonnance continue d'arcs brisés, on substitua deux étages d'arcades en carène, retombant sur des piles renforcées, et, à l'étage supérieur, on aménagea des cellules. C'est alors que le parement extérieur des piles et des murs reçut les mosaïques de faïence que nous sont parvenues.

Quelques années plus tard, vers 1475, le sultan Aḳ Koyunlu Ūzūn-Ḥasan ordonnait diverses restaurations dans la mosquée, notamment dans l'iwān Sud, et y faisait exécuter des travaux d'adduction d'eau.

LA MOSQUÉE SAFAVIDE

En dehors de la madrasa annexe construite *a fundamentis* entre 968 et 989, la mosquée ne fut l'objet, de la part des Safavides, que de restaurations ou d'embellissements partiels. Shāh Ṭahmāsp avait restauré la mosquée en 938 (1531-32) mais elle était à nouveau "sur le point de tomber en ruines" en 1070 (1659-1660) et Shāh 'Abbās II dut y faire exécuter d'importants travaux. Shāh Sulaimān, à la fin du XVII^e siècle, ordonna la reconstruction des parties hautes de l'iwān Ouest. Toutefois les interventions des Safavides ne modifièrent ni les lignes du plan tracées dès l'époque seldjoukide, ni même les détails de sa distribution fixés dès le milieu du XV^e siècle. Les architectes se bornèrent à construire des voûtes alvéolées en matériaux légers, à élever de sveltes minarets et à couvrir la surface des murs des iwāns d'un abondant décor de mosaïques et de carreaux de faïence. Tout au plus pourrait-on attribuer à cette époque la construction des travées couvertes entre la salle Nord et le péribole ancien de la mosquée primitive; encore est-il fort malaisé de fixer avec exactitude la date de ces voûtes de brique.

³⁰ M. van Berchem, *art. cit.*, pp. 374-75.

A chaque période historique, correspond un caractère monumental nettement marqué, en sorte que le Masdjid-i djum'a contient à lui seul les données essentielles de l'histoire de l'architecture en Perse. Dans les constructions seldjoukides, en briques apparentes, d'une sobriété un peu austère, d'une technique probe, franchement exprimée, l'effet, puissant, est obtenu par le jeu des volumes, par l'opposition nettement marquée de l'ombre et de la lumière. A l'époque mogole, la recherche ornementale prend le pas sur l'expression de la structure et les murs de brique sont recouverts de stucs aux décors surabondants, de chatoyants revêtements céramiques. Enfin, sous les Safavides, s'accroissent certaines tendances fâcheuses de la période précédente et les artifices s'étendent aux organes essentiels de la bâtisse, témoins ces voûtes d'alvéoles qui au lieu de remplir leur rôle de support sont suspendues à un berceau, comme un décor temporaire.

Il est probable qu'une étude plus approfondie, qu'on ne manquera pas d'entreprendre quelque jour, modifierait sur certains points nos conclusions, mais je crois que, dans l'ensemble, elles peuvent être considérées comme acquises. Aussi bien, je ne prétends pas donner ici la monographie d'un édifice qui mérite mieux qu'un article sommaire. Il faudrait, pour établir un travail définitif, disposer de moyens matériels permettant notamment de pratiquer quelques sondages et de rechercher sous les enduits modernes ce qui peut subsister des décors antérieurs. Il serait nécessaire, en outre, d'examiner quelques monuments, parmi les plus anciens de la Perse, soit que, comme la mosquée de Nāyin, ils aient été étudiés de manière trop rapide,³¹ soit que, comme les mosquées de *Shīrāz*, *Ārum* ou de *Āzwin*, d'un accès difficile pour les non-musulmans, ils n'aient jamais fait l'objet de recherches méthodiques. Le jour où une telle besogne pourra être accomplie — et aucun obstacle ne s'y oppose aujourd'hui — on sera conduit sans doute à reviser certaines théories et à leur substituer un tableau plus exact de l'histoire de l'art, non seulement en Perse, mais encore dans tout le monde islamique du proche Orient.

³¹ H. Viollet et S. Flury, "Un monument des premiers siècles de l'Hégire en Perse," *Syria*, 1921, pp. 226-234 et 305-316. L'étude du décor de stuc, par M. S. Flury a été conduite avec beaucoup de soin, mais l'ana-

lyse de la structure et des détails techniques serait à reprendre. M. Viollet eut d'ailleurs grand mérite à rassembler tant de matériaux si intéressants dans des conditions très pénibles.

IMPORTANT PIECES OF PERSIAN POTTERY IN LONDON COLLECTIONS

BY RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN

SINCE PRACTICALLY NO SCIENTIFIC EXCAVATIONS FOR MATERIAL OF THE ISLAMIC PERIOD have as yet been undertaken in Persia, the establishment of a definite provenance for Persian Islamic pottery is in most cases almost impossible. The problem of dating, however, is not quite so difficult, for a certain number of dated pieces are already known, thanks to the researches of F. Sarre, E. Kühnel, and G. Wiet;¹ but inasmuch as dated pieces provide the only means of determining the dating of whole groups, it is essential to make known as many of these as possible. The following dates on pieces of pottery recently discovered in some public and private collections in London add useful information on well recognized types and, in addition, definitely enable us to classify by group and date other wares which have until now been somewhat neglected. A few undated pieces are also discussed because of the new light they throw on certain aspects of that famous group of Persian potteries known as the lustre wares.

The oldest of these newly-found dated pieces is a bowl in the collection of Mr. Oscar Raphael, belonging to the group of polychrome painted pottery generally called *Mīnā-ī ware* (*Figs. 1 and 2*).² The date, 583 A.H. (1187 A.D.), which appears in an inscription frieze on the outside, is the earliest so far noted on Persian pottery,^{2a} with the exception of the lustre wares, and is 57 years earlier than the only other dated *Mīnā-ī* bowl hitherto published.³ The rather thin walls measure 20.9 cm. in diameter and 9.5 cm. in height. The fine, hard, white body in the places where it is visible has turned yellowish. On the interior cream-white ground is painted a garden scene, showing a young princess seated under a canopy, in conversation with a prince. Five attendants stand behind her throne, which is set beside a small pond. For the hair of the personages, in the costumes, the trees, and the canopy, a shiny black is used; a dull tomato red appears in the costumes, the caps, and the birds' wings; a light turquoise green, in the arabesques of the trees and the canopy, the decoration of the throne, and the outlines of the pond; while a light blue and a pale aubergine, used chiefly in the dresses of the attendants, are less conspicuous. The medallions on the outside are painted alternately in turquoise and tomato red, while an arabesque design in

¹ See F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin, 1910, Vol. I, pp. 64-71; E. Kühnel, "Datierter persischer Fayencen" in *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1924, No. I, pp. 42-52; E. Kühnel, "Dated Persian Lustre Pottery" in *Eastern Art*, 1931, Vol. III, pp. 220-236; G. Wiet, "Les pièces de céramique datées" in *L'Exposition Persane de 1931*, Cairo, 1933, pp. 131-136, Appendix II.

² I am indebted to Mr. Arthur Upham Pope for having drawn my attention to this bowl.

^{2a} Since this manuscript went to press a still earlier *Mīnā-ī* bowl, dated Muharram 582 A.H. (1186 A.D.), belonging to Mr. Parish-Watson, has been announced.

³ Victoria and Albert Museum, No. C 81-1918. A deep bowl with a lady enthroned amidst a decoration of fine arabesques, painted in black, pale tones, and gold over a pale turquoise glaze. The date is 640 A.H. (1243 A.D.). See R. Guest, "A Dated Rayy Bowl," in *Burlington Magazine*, London, 1931, Vol. LVIII, pp. 134-139.

black, red, green, and blue appears in the center of the foot. On the whole the decoration of this bowl is broader and more imposing than that on the delicate bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is dated 640 A.H. (1242 A.D.).

Of very fine workmanship and of greatest importance for the dating of a large group of Persian pottery is the bowl dated *Dhu'l-Hijda* 610 A.H. (1214 A.D.) in the collection of Sir Ernest Debenham (*Figs. 3 and 4*). Its sandy white body (diameter 20.6 cm., height 10.5 cm.) is covered with a cream white slip, over which is laid a clear glaze, now cracked, and showing, on the foot, a silvery iridescence. The pattern under the glaze is drawn in a very dark green, almost black. In the center is a circular band of Kūfic inscription, surrounded by a guilloche rondel. These, and the rosettes and ovoid flowers on the rim are painted in a light cobalt blue, which is, however, applied in a somewhat careless manner, so that the colour is at times blurred. This, however, does not in any way diminish the quality of the piece. The bowl shows repairs in several places, and unfortunately a small section of the frieze bearing the date is missing, so that the word supplying the "tens" in the date is partly obliterated (as can be seen in the illustration, where the repaired section shows lighter than the rest). But since the beginning of "*sanna*" and an "*ain*" are still preserved, it may be possible that the date was 620, although 610 is more probable, considering the space left by the word.

Several of the characteristic decorative features of this bowl enable us to date approximately many other pieces. Although it does not contain the full range of patterns which were used in this still-unknown center of production, it is not difficult to identify most of them, by using as guides those vessels which show similar decorative forms, and tracing in these other pieces the additional individual motifs. The especial features of the Debenham bowl are:

1. The central circular ornament, with its frieze of Kūfic on a blue ground
2. The rosettes radiating a fringe of stamens (*Fig. 5*)
3. An ovoid flower radiating a fringe of stamens, with a pair of half-arabesque leaves forming the calyx (*Fig. 6*)
4. Foliated stems with half-arabesque leaves, so arranged that one with only a few leaves alternates with another bearing many leaves (*Fig. 7*)
5. A closely-dotted interspace
6. A dentated pattern on the rim.

The last two features are of minor importance.

Comparing this vessel with the bowl No. C 726-1909 in the Victoria and Albert Museum,⁴ we find again the central circular ornament, in this instance formed by a star set in a rosette in place of the guilloche; the foliate stems with half-arabesque leaves, on the outside; the closely dotted interspaces; and the dentated pattern on the rim. In this bowl, however, there is an added pattern, consisting of a rudimentary fleur de lys (*Fig. 8*), which

⁴ See Victoria and Albert Museum, *A Picture Book of Persian Pottery*, London, 1926, No. 16 (Photo No. 56768).



FIGS. 1, 2—BOWL, POLYCHROME PAINTED, DATED 1187
LONDON, O. RAPHAEL COLLECTION



FIGS. 3, 4—BOWL, PAINTED IN BLACK AND BLUE, DATED 1214
LONDON, SIR ERNEST DEBENHAM COLLECTION

is important since it is common on other pieces belonging to the same group. The design in the centre of the Debenham bowl seems to consist of the same pattern in a degenerate form.

Another group displays more or less the same motifs, but in a different arrangement. The black and green bowl in the collection of Gamsaragan Bey in Alexandria, dated 601 A.H. (1204 A.D.),⁵ is partitioned by black bands with white inscriptions, radiating from the centre, and alternating with bands of ornamental motifs. Here we find the same patterns as in Figs. 5 and 6, and also the dotted interspaces and the dentated rim pattern. But there is, in addition, a new ornamental motif, the bird with the long tail feathers (*Fig. 9*).

The same scheme of partitioning bands is seen on the bowl dated *Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja* 607 A.H. (1211 A.D.) in the National Museum in Stockholm.⁶ It has the fleur de lys of the Gamsaragan bowl, but a new and characteristic feature is the undulating stem with half-arabesque leaves (*Fig. 10*). This type of undulating stem, as well as the straight stems found on the outside of the Debenham piece, are found, though in a minor role, on the well-known Macy jug in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.⁷ The date on this jug, 612 A.H. (1215 A.D.), connects it also with the group under discussion, though in all other details of decoration it is entirely different.

A not uncommon pattern found on this ware is the black fish, drawn either straight, as on the bowl No. C 721-1909 in the Victoria and Albert Museum (*Fig. 11*),⁸ which also has the same undulating stem as on the Stockholm bowl, or curved, as on bowl No. C 57-1930 in the same Museum (*Fig. 12*). This last piece may be classed in this group by virtue of the central band of Kūfic on a blue ground, and the fleur de lys.

These four dated pieces enable us to designate every piece of pottery bearing some of the above-enumerated patterns, as having been manufactured in the first two decades of the thirteenth century. This dating can be stipulated with even greater certainty if the vessel shows either the central circular pattern (the guilloche, star, or interlaced ribbons), or the bands of inscription and ornament radiating from the centre.

A bowl dated Ramaḍān 672 A.H. (1274 A.D.) in the D. Kelekian Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum (No. 120) (*Fig. 13*) helps us to date another type of Persian pottery which is found in many of the larger collections, but which has not heretofore been carefully studied. It stands on a high foot, 11.8 cm. in height and 27.5 cm. in diameter, the tan body covered with a white slip, on which the decoration is laid and the whole covered with a clear glaze. In the interior of the bowl are two long-legged birds, seemingly peacocks, confronted, each with one leg raised. Their bodies are painted in a cobalt blue; the heads, neck, and tail feathers, in turquoise green; the beak, the wattle, and tips of the feathers, in aubergine; and the whole is outlined in a dark green.⁹ The slender, feather-like stems with short

⁵ See G. Wiet, *L'Exposition Persane de 1931*, p. 131 and Pl. G.

⁶ See G. Wiet, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI, and E. Kühnel in *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1924, Vol. I, Pl. 26, Fig. 9.

⁷ See M. S. Dimand, *Loan Exhibition of Ceramic Art*

of the Near East, New York, 1931, No. 94.

⁸ See Victoria and Albert Museum, *A Picture Book of Persian Pottery*, No. 14.

⁹ The volute tips of the feathers are also found in other pottery groups, as for instance, in the lustre vessel in the form of a human-headed bird in the Collection of

hatched leaves on the main ground are also drawn in a very dark green, but the round blossom at the tip is either in aubergine or cobalt blue, with the colouring, especially the blue, blurred as it sweeps downward toward the centre of the bowl. This blurring of colour is characteristic of the ware, and is found, again, in this piece, in the painting of the birds; the thin double blue lines on the rim; the blue ground, on which an inscription is reserved in white relief, on the outer rim of the bowl; and in the small rosettes under the inscription. The colour scheme of dark green, cobalt blue, turquoise, and aubergine is another distinguishing feature of the group, as is also the slender, feather-like stems which form the background for the animal drawing and very often encircle the central pattern.

The inscription contains a blessing for the owner, in the form "*al-izz al-dā'im, wa'l-iḡbāl . . . liṣāhibihi*," and ends with the date, in which the Persian "*Māh*," rarely found in this connexion, replaces the ordinary Arabic "*Shahr*" (*fi tārikh-i māh-i-Ramaḡān al-mubārak . . .*).

There are several other vessels of the same type in the Victoria and Albert Museum, but they are not dated. The group includes a fluted bowl on a low foot, with a hare, painted in dark cobalt, in the centre;¹⁰ a small tray resting on three feet, in the shape of animals, with a running horse in the centre;¹¹ and finally, a small bowl, probably of somewhat later date, again with the running hare in the centre, and with the sides partitioned by narrow stripes.¹² Another bowl with a similar running hare was in the collection of M. Engel-Gros,¹³ while Mr. H. Kevorkian had one with two addorsed birds and another with a central design of purely ornamental character.¹⁴

A bowl from the van den Bergh Collection in the British Museum¹⁵ might be considered as a link between this group and the earlier one, for while it belongs to the group dated in the first two decades of the thirteenth century, of which the Debenham bowl is the definitive piece, it has also the long, slender, feather-like stems with fine leaves which are characteristic of the later group, of which the Kelekian bowl dated Ramaḡān 672 A.H. (1274 A.D.) is an outstanding example. A later derivative of the latter group is a shallow bowl in the British Museum,¹⁶ which is similar to the little bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

In his list of dated pieces, G. Wiet has given a short account of two turquoise glazed

the Ministry of Public Instruction, Teheran (*Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art*, London, 1931, No. 168 B), and on a jug with cock's head spout and creamy white glaze in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, Berlin, 1925, Fig. 47).

¹⁰ No. C 186-1926, Photo No. 57952/3.

¹¹ Brangwyn Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 145, Photo No. 65566.

¹² No. C 120-1931.

¹³ See P. Ganz, *L'œuvre d'un amateur d'art. La collection de M. F. Engel-Gros*, Paris-Geneva (no date), Vol. II, Pl. 17-b.

¹⁴ See Photo Nos. 5199-1910 and 5197-1910 in the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

¹⁵ See R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East*, London, 1932, p. 50 and Fig. 59.

¹⁶ See R. L. Hobson, *op. cit.*, Fig. 73, where it is described as "probably Syrian, 13th or 14th century." A. U. Pope discussed this bowl in his review of Mr. Hobson's book in *The Art Bulletin*, Chicago, 1932, Vol. XIV, No. 4, p. 377. He says: "This is a typical Saveh ware. Hundreds of plates and fragments of this type have been found in Saveh and quite a number of pieces, perhaps one-fifth as many, at Rayy and just a few at Sultana-bad."

mihrābs, one dated 712 A.H. (1312 A.D.), in the Metropolitan Museum,¹⁷ and another, dated 716 A.H. (1316 A.D.), in the Musée Arabe.¹⁸ To these we must add a turquoise glazed tile in the Victoria and Albert Museum with a *Naskhī* inscription in relief, bearing the date 716 A.H. (1316 A.D.), in numerals. From this latter piece we can clearly judge that in the early part of the XIVth century lustre mihrābs and lustre wall decoration were not the only means used to embellish mosques and private dwellings, but that turquoise glazed tiles (or cobalt blue tiles with white arabesques and inscriptions¹⁹) were also chosen.

A flat disk in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, painted in the year 971 A.H. (1563 A.D.) by 'Abd al-Wāhid, with arabesques and the signs of the zodiac, has been generally regarded as the earliest of the Persian blue and white wares, for which an exact date could be established.²⁰ There is, however, a fragmentary wine jar in the shape of a pilgrim bottle with thick sides, in the Salting Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Salting Bequest, No. 658; C 1973-1910) dated 930 A.H. (1523 A.D.) (*Fig. 14*). The diameter is 23½ cm.; the depth is 7 cm. but in the center, owing to the concave form, it is 17 cm. deep. It was exhibited as early as 1885 in an exhibition of the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London, but although its date was mentioned in the catalogue, the bottle has, as far as the author has been able to determine, never been mentioned again. Where the glaze has come off, the dark brown body, now weathered in appearance, proves upon examination to be anything but porcelain-like. The painting is executed, without black outlines, in varying tones of blue. The same motif appears on both sides: a bird, his head turned obliquely upward, amid peony flowers, and the whole encircled by a band of Persian verses in *Nast'aliq* writing. These blasphemous verses somewhat in the style of 'Omar Khayyām read:

"Oh, my Lord, may my soul not reach a union with you,
and may no word nor sign of my existence come to you,
at the end of the time may I not for a moment be with you;
in short, may the world not be with you!
In this old tavern a drunkard said:
May the end of all drunkards be auspicious!"

Around the edges of the bottle are carefully drawn floral medallions, and a small remaining piece of the handle indicates that originally the handles were painted in the same way.

The rose and the nightingale are frequently mentioned in Persian poetry, and the theme was probably used on the bottle to appeal to the Persian taste, but individual features of the decoration are, like the artistic and technical conception of the Persian blue and white

¹⁷ Illustrated in M. S. Dimand, "Dated Specimens of Mohammedan Art" in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, New York, 1928-29, Vol. I, p. 103, Fig. 5.

¹⁸ See G. Wiet, *op. cit.*, Pl. H-a.

¹⁹ See G. Wiet, *Album du Musée Arabe du Caire*, Cairo, 1930, Pl. 64b (tiles with the date given as *Dhu'l-Hijjdja* 754/1354, No. 8482. According to the present author, this date has to be read as 705/1306.); G. Wiet, *L'Ex-*

position Persane, Pl. H-b (Mihrāb dated 719/1319 in the Musée Arabe, Cairo, No. 3745); and E. Kühnel in *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, Vol. I, Pl. 26, Fig. 8 (Mihrāb dated 722/1322 in the possession of Mr. H. Kevorkian).

²⁰ See E. Kühnel in *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, Vol. I, Pl. 27, Fig. 10.

wares, Chinese. Similar flowers appear on Ming blue and white ware of the XVth century.²¹ It took some time for the Chinese forms to reach Persia and be copied by Iranian artists.²² Vessels reproduced in the miniatures indicate that the use of this ware, or of the Chinese originals, is much older than the Salting piece, and goes at least as far back as the end of the XIVth century.²³ The closest analogous pieces are the Turkish blue and white wares, ascribed to the end of the XVth and the very beginning of the XVIth centuries.²⁴ The latter are, however, far better in quality, and their purely ornamental designs serve to emphasize how much the Persian piece has lost by the introduction of the poorly drawn birds.

The memorial tablet for Maḥdī Ḳulī ibn Ḡhulām 'Alī Bāftābādī, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (No. 545-1878) (*Fig. 15*) has already been cited in the literature,²⁵ but its date has always been given, erroneously, as 1593 A.D. instead of Ṣafar 1037 A.H. (1627 A.D.). Moreover, the rather coarse decoration in the top segment, above the inscription, gives it a certain importance, for it is executed in the manner and colours of the so-called "second Kubatchi" style. A great number of plates painted in this style have been found, many with figures in costumes of the Shāh 'Abbās period, so that the *approximate* time of their manufacture has been known, but this tablet provides us with an *exact* date. The decoration on the tombstone, consisting of a sun, two squares, and flowers, is outlined in black, and

²¹ See Victoria and Albert Museum, Nos. 1633-76; 6848-1860; R. L. Hobson, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection* . . ., London, 1927, Vol. IV, No. D-13. The form of the pilgrim bottle which is quite frequently found in the Near East, but rarely in Persia, occurs also among the blue and white Ming wares. See Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 554-1878. The pilgrim bottle dated 930 A.H. however has nothing to do with the Chinese blue and white wares decorated with Arabic inscriptions, which were made during the reign of Ch'eng T'ê 1506-21. These vessels are decorated, besides the inscription, with an entirely different pattern, a Chinese rendering of arabesques, the Muḥammadan scroll or hui hui wên. They were probably made for Muḥammadans in China. See R. L. Hobson, *The Wares of the Ming Dynasty*, London, 1923, p. 90; also, Hobson, *A Guide to the Pottery and Porcelain of the Far East, in the British Museum*, London, 1924, p. 51, and Fig. 59; also, Hobson, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection*, Vol. IV, pp. 5f, No. D-19/21, Pl. 4.

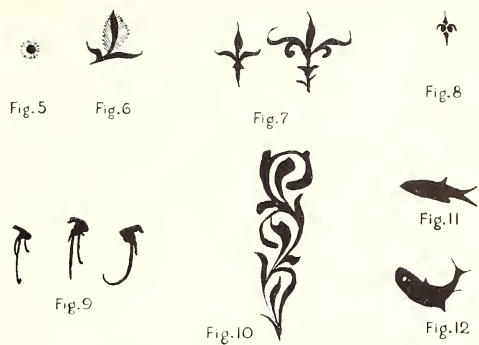
²² Probably one of the first reports of such experiments in copying Chinese pottery is found in Khwāndamir's account of the artist Mawlānā Ḥādī Muḥammad Naqqāsh (+ 1507) in his history, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (completed in 1524): "He was a master of the arts of his time and with the brush of imagination he depicted marvelous things and wonderful forms upon the pages of art. He attained a high degree of skill in the art of

painting and working in gold. Several times he made an attempt to bake Chinese vessels, and after much trial and unremitting effort the form of the vessels he made closely resembled those of China, but the colour and purity of them was not as it ought to have been. . . ." (See T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford, 1928, p. 139). Khwāndamir does not specially mention the blue and white wares, but vessels of this style were so popular in this period that we may justifiably presume that he alludes to them.

²³ See L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Oxford, 1933, Pls. 33 and 38, miniatures dated about 1420. This ware is already found in the famous Manuscript of Khwādījū Kirmānī, dated 798 A.H. (1396 A.D.) in the British Museum, Add. 18,113 fol. 20a and 42b. E. Cohn-Wiener (in *Turan*, Berlin, 1930, p. 26 and Pl. 39b), reports a wall decoration in another technique in one of the mausoleums of the Shāh Zinde group in Samarkand, built in 787 A.H. (1385 A.D.) depicting golden phoenixes on a powder blue ground. He thinks that they are the work of Chinese craftsmen.

²⁴ See Hobson, *A Guide to the Pottery of the Near East*, pp. 78ff and Figs. 92-94.

²⁵ See R. H. R. Brocklebank, "Kubatcha Faïence" in *Burlington Magazine*, London, Vol. LIX, 1931, II, p. 219; also, Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 75, note 2.



DECORATIVE MOTIFS ON BOWL SHOWN IN FIGS. 3 AND 4



FIG. 13—BOWL, POLYCHROME PAINTED, DATED 1274
LONDON, D. KELEKIAN COLLECTION IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM



FIG. 14—WINE JAR, PAINTED IN BLUE ON WHITE, DATED 1523

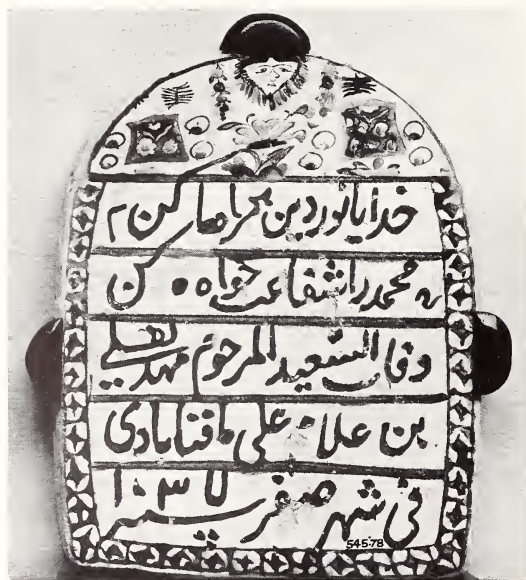


FIG. 15—TOMBSTONE FOR MAHDĪ KULĪ IBN GHULĀM 'ALĪ BĀFTĀBĀDĪ
DATED 1627

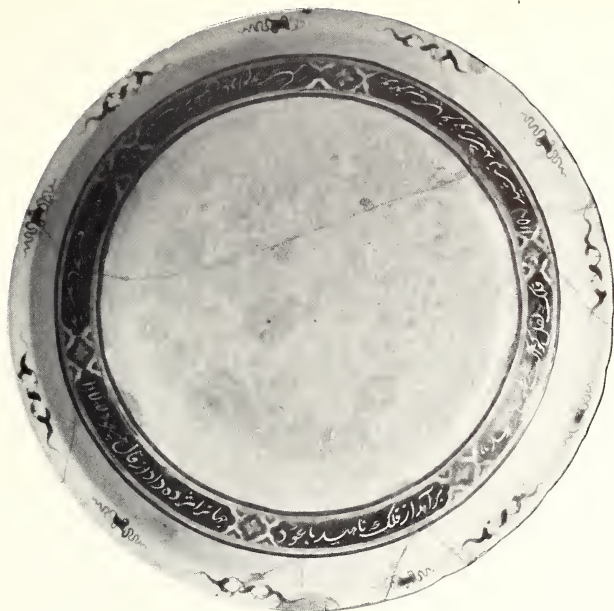


FIG. 16—LARGE WHITE PLATE, DATED 1647. LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM



FIG. 17—LUSTRE PLATE, DATED 1207
LONDON, D. KELEKIAN COLLECTION IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM



FIG. 18—UPPER PART OF A LUSTRE MIHRĀB FROM A MOSQUE IN NAṬANZ
KĀSHĀN, DATED 1307, LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

painted in green, cobalt blue, yellow, and a tomato red. The yellow and red surfaces are slightly raised, a characteristic of this group. The lines between the inscription segments, and the border of lozenge-shaped figures are in cobalt blue. The body, which is reddish white, is covered with a slip on which the inscription had apparently been traced with a blunt stylus before painting, and occasionally the potter must have forgotten to blacken over these trace-marks, as in the case of the diacritical point over the "*ghain*" in *ghulām*, so that the covering glaze, now all crackled, is slightly darker over these spots than elsewhere. Altogether the piece, which measures 28 x 22 cm., appears to be the work of a very mediocre craftsman and it was probably manufactured somewhat later than most of this group or at some distance from the centre of production.

It is very probable that the large white plate No. C 931-1886 in the Victoria and Albert Museum (diameter 51 cm.) is dated, since we find the numerals 1057 in the inscription surrounding the central design, but this, however, cannot be stated definitely as the word "*Sanna*"—year does not occur, and the numerals are peculiarly placed in a verse (*Fig. 16*).^{25a} The date 1057 A.H. (1647 A.D.) would fit in very well with the decoration consisting of incised floral sprays under a clear, translucent glaze; this is spread irregularly over the plate and produces an uneven surface with, in places, small mounds of glaze, that by their density give off a greenish colour. The design was obviously influenced by Chinese models. The framing lines, the small pattern between the inscription cartouches, and the small arabesques and cloud bands on the rim are in cobalt blue. The inscription contains six lines, in rhymed pairs:

"When the sunset swallowed the cup of the sun (1057)
the sky spread out the sweets of the stars on a dish.
On the heavens Venus with the lute appeared
giving to the world good news of happy omen.
In whatever direction I may kiss the ruby-lipped lover
the heavens will receive nine dishes of almonds and sugar."²⁶

Although the general design and the drawing are excellent, the technical execution is poor; in addition to the spotty appearance of the glaze its surface is marred by holes.

In discussing the early dated lustre wares, E. Kühnel has pointed out that the first pieces, with "a broad handling of the decoration," were followed by another group with minute drawing.²⁷ To this second group belong some of the finest pieces ever produced by Persian potters, like the plate showing Khusrāw watching Shīrīn bathing, in the Eumorphopoulos Collection, and the bowl with the old poet and the youth, in the Havemeyer Collec-

^{25a} A blue and white bowl in the Berlin Museum shows the figures 1037 A.H. (1627 A.D.) similarly placed in a verse. Here, too, the word *Sanna* is missing, yet there can hardly be any doubt in this case that 1037 is

the date (Kühnel, *Jahrbuch*, Pl. 27, Fig. 11).

²⁶ I am indebted to Prof. V. Minorsky for his help in translating the inscription.

²⁷ See *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, p. 225.

tion, both dated *Djumādā* II 607 A.H. (1210 A.D.).²⁸ To these can be added a third, simpler in design but of the same artistic quality (*Fig. 17*), the plate with the young polo player, in the D. Kelekian Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum (No. 136). This piece has already been published by Rivière and Lady Evans,²⁹ but the date, 604 A.H. (1207 A.D.), which marks it as the earliest of this group of vessels, has evidently escaped their notice. The plate measures 35 cm. from rim to rim, and the inner diameter is 28 cm. The body is light red, and the extraordinarily well preserved lustre is of a greenish-yellow colour. As on many of the fine lustre pieces, such as the Berlin plate with the fantastic bird, we find colour spots here also, in lapis blue and a turquoise green.

This plate is clearly related to other dated pieces. The bowl dated *Rabī'* I 606 A.H. (1209 A.D.) in the British Museum,³⁰ and all the later pieces as well, have the same characteristic birds and leaves, and the fine scrollwork in the *Kūfic* inscription frieze on the outside. The *Khusraw* plate in the Eumorfopoulos Collection is of a similar shape, a flat-bottomed deep dish with a fluted wall and a level rim with a moulded edge. The style of the Kelekian plate is foreshadowed in the rather poorly preserved star tile with four seated figures, dated 600 A.H. (1203 A.D.), in the *Musée Arabe*,³¹ the oldest piece of the entire group, but a star tile in the Boston Museum,^{31a} dated *Rabī'* II 603 A.H. (1206 A.D.) still one year older than the Kelekian plate, shows not only the same style but even the same scene, the mounted horseman amid foliage and birds. It is interesting that this scene in the same style continued in use for several decades, as we find it again on a plate of the same shape dated 654 A.H. (1256 A.D.) in the possession of Mr. A. Garabed in London.³²

E. Diez, in his article on the *Mihrāb*, in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*,³³ has shown that two types are to be distinguished in Persia. After having explained the double-framed niche-*mihrāb* made of stucco, he says: "A second type developed alongside of the stucco *mihrāb*, the *mihrāb* with lustre faïence, with which this part of the decoration of the mosque, and with it Persian faïence, reached its zenith. These *mihrābs* show the same double niches as their stucco counterparts, but are flatter, more framework than niche. In place of the curved arch the canopy is a rectilinear gable, a change in shape probably mainly due to the material." The lustre *mihrāb* fragment, No. C 71-1885, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (*Fig. 18*),³⁴ combines the two types. It has an actual niche, and is therefore, as far as the

²⁸ *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, 1924, Vol. I, Pl. 23, Fig. 1; *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, p. 222, Fig. 4.

²⁹ H. Rivière, *La Céramique dans l'Art Musulman*, Paris, 1913, Vol. I, Pl. 44; Lady M. M. Evans, *Lustre Pottery*, London, 1920, p. 28 and Pl. VII, No. 20.

³⁰ Hobson, *Guide to Pottery of the Near East*, Figs. 45 and 45a.

³¹ G. Wiet, *L'Exposition Persane*, pp. 32f, No. 30, and Pl. XIXa.

^{31a} See *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Boston, VI, 1908, p. 31, Fig. ill. in lower right hand corner.

³² It seems quite likely that one of these pieces was

imitated by potters in making the *Minā-ī* wares with gold relief decoration. In the collection of Mr. Oscar Raphael is a *Minā-ī* bowl with a similar horseman, and arabesques and birds in the background. (*Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art*, London, 1931, No. 196B.)

³³ Leiden, 1928, Vol. III, p. 489a.

³⁴ It is difficult to secure the exact measurements, as the piece is hung very high on the wall, but approximately it measures 69 cm. in height, 80 cm. across the lower edge, and the recess of the niche is 20 cm. deep.

author can see, the only case in which the potter succeeded in making the large plates hemispherical. But this is not its only important feature, because we have on the end of the inscription frieze, on the curve of the arch, the date 707 A.H. (1307 A.D.), in numerals.³⁵ According to the Museum's inventory, this mihrāb comes from Naṭanz in the *Djibāl*. The mihrāb consists of two symmetrical halves. Its structure and decoration are clearly seen in Fig. 18, although it is not entirely plain from the illustration that the inscription frieze is on a lower level than the spandrels, whose soffits are painted in lustre with interlacing arabesques. This frieze, in turn, is much higher than the actually receding niche. The arabesques, the large inscription, and the lines that frame it, are all moulded in high relief and painted in cobalt blue. In a few places, especially on the spandrels, there is some turquoise green. The coloring is slightly blurred, but this is not in any way a detraction. The arched frieze contains the *Bismi'llāh* at the beginning, the date at the end, and an important *Qor'ānic* passage in fine *Naskhī* writing, *Sūra* 17, Verse 80:

"Establish worship at the setting of the sun until dark of night and (the recital of) the *Qor'ān* at dawn. Lo! the *Qor'ān* at dawn is ever witnessed."

The small inscription, in lustre, framing the whole, is also *Qor'ānic*, the middle and left section quoting *Sūra* 55, Verses 1-23, while on the right is quoted the last part of the same *Sūra*, Verses 68-78.

Two fragments of flat mihrābs are executed in the same style and hence were probably made in the same workshop at about the same time. They belonged formerly to the F. Gans collection in Frankfurt-on-Main, but are now in the possession of the Bachstizt Galleries in the Hague.³⁶ They show the same arabesque arrangement, with one terminating in a large flower, and the same background decoration with leaves and dots. The gable of the *Kāshān* mihrāb in the Berlin Museum is ornamented with large arabesques in high relief, and with smaller arabesques and flowers in lower relief. In the Naṭanz mihrāb both series of arabesques are on the same level. The mihrāb of *Varāmīn*, dated 663 A.H. (1264 A.D.), now in Philadelphia,^{36a} shows the transitory stage: here one ornamental figure is already on the same level as the large arabesques, while others still remain in lower relief.

Since Naṭanz is not far from *Kāshān*, it is probable that this mihrāb, remarkable for its technical and artistic qualities, was manufactured in *Kāshān*, the most famous centre for this kind of pottery. The artistic skill of the inhabitants of Naṭanz in carving bowls out of ivory and ebony is mentioned by *Qazwīnī*.³⁷ A. Houtum Schindler and P. M. Sykes give

³⁵ F. Sarre is the only one who has recorded this piece, in his *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, p. 70, but as it was not illustrated nor the date mentioned, it has not been cited in the literature since then.

³⁶ F. R. Martin and F. Sarre, *Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst*, Munich, 1912, Vol. II, preface p. iv, Pl. 109, No. 1265; see also *Catalogue of the Inter-*

national Exhibition of Persian Art, London, 1931, No. 151.

^{36a} On loan exhibition; in the University Museum; in the possession of Mr. H. Kevorkian.

³⁷ G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 209.

a description of the modern state of the town.³⁸ The second writer says, in the conclusion of his short statement: "There is a mosque still standing which must formerly have been magnificent; at any rate, I believe some of the finest lustre tiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum once adorned its walls. It was built in 715 A.H. (1315 A.D.)." There are other tiles from Națanz in the Victoria and Albert Museum, so that it seems somewhat doubtful that the mihrāb dated 707 A.H. (1307 A.D.) belonged to this mosque. Houtum Schindler calls the building an "old tomb," and he mentions several other mosques and public buildings.^{38a}

Of all the large Persian lustre mihrābs, only those of the Maidān Mosque in Kāshān (now in Berlin) and of the Imāmzāde Yahyā in Varāmīn (now in Philadelphia)^{36a} have come down to us in good condition. The many sectional tiles in public and private collections, however, would indicate that there must have been many fine mihrābs. With the aid of four such dated pieces, in New York, London, Cairo,³⁹ and Teheran, the dating of at least four different groups of mihrāb tiles can be fixed. The date of a fifth group is established by a sectional tile in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs in Paris, inscribed "*wakutiba fi awākhīr*." It was written in the last (days of) . . . , and two sectional tiles (Fig. 19) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, continuing the inscription "*Ḍhu'l-Ḥijjdja . . . 38*." As the last section of the date, containing the "hundreds" of the year, has not yet come to light, we are left to decide whether this fifth mihrāb was made in the middle of the XIIIth (if the date should read 638/1240) or the XIVth century (if it were 738/1337). But a XIVth century dating can hardly be doubted, since these pieces, with the cobalt blue used only in the relief inscription,⁴⁰ and a lustre ornamentation on a white glaze, are closely related to the Teheran mihrāb tiles dated 734 A.H. (1333 A.D.). Their simplicity distinguishes them from earlier mihrābs.

³⁸ A. Houtum Schindler, "Reisen im südlichen Persien," 1879 (VI) in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, Vol. XVI, 1881, pp. 308-9; P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, London, 1902, p. 180.

^{38a} There is another mihrāb fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum (469-88) whose date, 665 A.H. (1266 A.D.), has not been noticed (see H. Wallis, *The Godman Collection, II*, London, 1894, Fig. 39, p. 38).

³⁹ Dated *Ṣhawwāl* 707 A.H. (1308 A.D.). See M. S. Dimand, "Dated Specimens of Mohammedan Art in the Metropolitan Museum" in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, I, 1928-29, Fig. 3. Dated *Ṣha'bān* 709 A.H. (1310 A.D.). See Hobson, *Guide to Pottery of the Near East*, Fig. 114. Dated *Ramaḍān* 710 A.H. (1311 A.D.). See Wiet, *Album*, Pl. 64a. Dated 734 A.H. (1333 A.D.) in the Teheran National Museum. See Wiet, *L'Exposition Persane*, p. 44, No. 46.

⁴⁰ The *Ḳor'ānic* inscription of this mihrāb is taken from *Sūra* 3, Verses 188 and 189, and occurs as follows:

Tile No. 1490a-76, Victoria and Albert Museum, shows part of Verse 188; and, taken in continuing order, Tile 1490d-76, Victoria and Albert Museum; tile 1921, 1315 in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; tiles 1507-76 and 1490b-76, Victoria and Albert Museum, give the end of Verse 188 and the beginning of Verse 189.

Parts of Verse 188 are missing, but the text of a second tile in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, and another in the possession of Mr. C. Filippo of New York, essential for further reconstruction, is not yet available. The word *Ḥijjdja* in the name of the month occurs twice, but it also occurs twice on another XIVth century mihrāb, tiles of which, No. 8482, are in the Musée Arabe. See Wiet, *Album*, Pl. 64b. I am indebted to Mr. Edwin Ward, Director of the Royal Scottish Museum, for information about the Edinburgh piece, and to Mr. Leigh Ashton of the Victoria and Albert Museum for his kind help.



FIG. 19.—LUSTRE TILES WITH COBALT BLUE INSCRIPTION IN RELIEF, PROBABLY DATED 1337



FIG. 20.—LUSTRE WALL PAINTING, C. 1210



FIG. 21.—LUSTRE TILES FROM A MIHRAB, MADE BY AL-HASAN BEN 'ARABSHAH
KASHAN, XIII CENTURY, LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

Also, a XIIIth century dating could hardly be upheld, since there are no known lustre pieces of any kind between 1227 and 1255,^{40a} a break due to the general upheaval caused by the Mongol invasion, yet, on the other hand, we do have scores of dated lustre pieces from before and after that event. Accepting a XIVth century date, this mihrāb becomes the latest of the lustre mihrābs so far known.

A large, white, glazed slab with brown, now partly faded, lustre decoration, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (No. 162-1907) (*Fig. 20*), deserves special attention, as it proves definitely that lustre painting for architectural purposes was not confined to mihrābs and the cross and star tiles. The slab is much larger than the ordinary tiles, measuring 33.5 cm. in height and 37.5 cm. in width. It might be called a decorative wall painting in lustre, and the gable shape could be explained by the fact that it originally served as a corner embellishment. It is not certain whether its original use accounts also for the oblique and curved outlines of the lower part, but this shape might have been required, for instance, if the piece had been set above two windows. The rather harsh and abrupt ending of the design, however, leaving some birds cut in half, seems to indicate that it was broken and cut, for commercial purposes, in modern times. The scene is a common one, of a noble pair in conversation, under a canopy decorated with birds. The lady is apparently seated on a throne, the posts of which are indicated by an entrelac, and the prince holds a goblet in his right hand. The pattern of the costumes, the contrast of the round white faces with the other parts of the painting, which is entirely covered with a fine, dense pattern, the flowers and birds, indicate that the piece was manufactured in the same place as the Kelekian polo player plate (*Fig. 17*), the *Khusraw* plate in the Eumorfopoulos Collection, and other pieces of this well-defined group. The date of this piece is probably about 1210 A.D.

In the corner of the large lustre mihrāb of the Maidān Mosque in Kāshān, now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin,⁴¹ the artist has not only recorded the date (Šafar 623 A.H./1226 A.D.) but also his name, al-Ḥasan ibn 'Arabshāh. This information helps us to identify a second large mihrāb, of which fragments, said to have come from Naṭanz, are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Nos. 468 and 729-1888) (*Fig. 21*). One tile has a few *Ḳor'*anic words (Sūra VI, 165), but the other gives in the very characteristic large, cobalt blue *Naskhī* writing, the second part of a name: ibn 'Arabshāh al-Nakḳāsh. The missing first tile would have to be found to prove the attribution, but it seems quite probable that these tiles were made by the same artist as the Kāshān mihrāb, or perhaps by a member of his family. The characters on the Victoria and Albert Museum tile are very much like those of the Kāshān mihrāb and the way in which 'Arabshāh is written is exactly identical. The arabesques on the broad cornice are also an important feature in showing the relation-

^{40a} With the exception of a tiny fragment of a star tile in the author's possession, dated 631 A.H. (1233 A.D.), the last number being not altogether clear.

⁴¹ F. Sarre-E. Kühnel, "Zwei persische Gebetsnischen aus lüstrierten Fliesen" in *Berliner Museen*, Vol. XLIX, 1928, pp. 126-131.

ship.^{41a} The word "Naḳḳāsh," meaning a man who does decorative work in the widest sense of the term (e.g. a painter, gilder, engraver, enameller, etc.), does not occur in the signature on the Kāshān mihrāb, nor on any of the other signed mihrābs. In these, only the scribe and potter are mentioned, or the fact that the artist acted both as scribe and potter if the signature gives more information besides the ordinary "'amal.'" ⁴² The tiles are very large, measuring 48 cm. in height and 38 cm. in width, and 47 x 42 cm. The light brown lustre is enlivened by the great turquoise arabesques of the ground ornament, whose colour is somewhat thin and blurred. White birds are reserved on the lustre ground, a feature which, though uncommon on mihrāb tiles, occurs also on the tile dated 707 A.H. (1307 A.D.) in the Metropolitan Museum.⁴³ There is another tile in the Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 732-1888, probably also from a mihrāb, and very much like the two tiles under discussion; it shows not only birds but also hares, in the same pose as those on many of the lustre star tiles and vessels.

^{41a} Judging from these arabesques, the lower border decoration, the large turquoise spirals and the birds, the author is inclined to attribute a third mihrāb to Ḥasan ibn 'Arabshāh's workshop, from which one side is now in the collection of Dame Alice Godman, Horsham (see H. Wallis, *Godman Collection II*, Pl. VIII and pp. xvi f).

⁴² The Kāshān mihrāb was only 'amal; the Kumm mihrāb and the mihrāb from Varāmīn give a much longer signature which seems to imply that the artist was responsible for both the pottery work and the inscription, while the signature on the tombstone from Varāmīn, now in the Hermitage in Leningrad, gives special credit to the work of the scribe and to that of the potter. (See V. A. Kratchkowskaya, "The Lustre Tile Mihrāb from the Hermitage Museum" in *Iran*, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 73-86, in Russian.)

⁴³ Since this manuscript went to press, the author has found two other tiles of this mihrāb, formerly in the collection of the late J. R. Preece, who had also owned the big Kāshān mihrāb. (*Exhibition of Persian Art and Curios*, The Collection Formed by J. R. Preece, at the Vincent Robinson Galleries, London, 1913, Nos. 5 and 5a, and Pl. I; *Catalogue, Exhibition of the Faïence of Persia and the Nearer East*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1908, p. 29, Pl. VIb, Frame 12, in colour.) These tiles were said to have come from Naṭanz. One contains the very end of Sūra 6, Verse 162, and the beginning of Verse 163; the second contains words of Sūra 6, Verse 164. That the mihrāb must have been of great size becomes obvious, judging not only from the size of the individual tiles, but also from the widespread passages from the *Ḳor'ān* which were written across them.

MORE ABOUT ARABIC TERMS FOR "RUG"

BY WILLIAM H. WORRELL

IN A PRECEDING ARTICLE¹ THE TERMS *saggāda* (*sadjdjāda*), *namāriḳ* (plural of *numruḳ*), *zūliya* and *ḩaṭīfa* were mentioned, and left without discussion. Other terms which occur in using the dictionaries are *farsh*, *firāsh*, *farsha*, *khumra*, *namaṭ*, *ḩirām*, *baṭṭānīya*, *ḩarṭafa* and *iklīm*. I do not pretend to say that all these words mean "rug," or that there are no further terms of the kind. Words that have to do with commodities in international trade, and with fashions that come and go, must necessarily be numerous and variable in their meaning. The name of a material may easily become the name of a kind of rug made from that material. The boundary line between coverings for the floor, the bed, the wall, the saddle and the body is a shifting one. A thin carpet may be used to cover a bed or a wall. A blanket may be worn by day, and slept under by night. A thick rug may be used as a saddle cushion. This situation is further complicated by the circumstance that the dictionaries use the English word "rug" in the double sense of "carpet" and "blanket."

Sadjdjāda, *sudjdjāda* (Lane, Wahrmund), *siggāda* (Spiro, Egyptian colloquial), plural *sadjdjād* (Dozy, Wahrmund), *sawādjīd*, *sadjdjād*, *sadjdjādāt* (Dozy), *sag'īd*, *siggādāt* (Spiro), is a pure Arabic form, signifying properly an instrument by means of which the act of bowing down in prayer is accomplished, regularly and constantly (cf. Wright, I, 176 f.). Specifically it means "the *khumra*" (*q.v. inf.*) (Lisān, ar-Rāzī, al-Bustānī, *Shartūnī*) "upon which bowing down is performed" (Lisān): *al-khumra al-masdjūd 'alaihi*; "prayer-carpet" (Salmoné, Hava, Wahrmund), then "carpet" (Salmoné, Hava, Elias, Spiro), "rug, *ṭinfasa*" (*q.v. sup.*) (Elias).

Khumra, plural *khumar* (Dozy), means a "small *sadjdjāda*" (*q.v. sup.*) (ar-Rāzī) or "small mat" (Kāmūs, *Shartūnī*) "made of palm leaves" (Kāmūs, ar-Rāzī) "and embroidered with threads" (ar-Rāzī), "of the size which the praying one bows down upon" (*Shartūnī*): *Sadjdjāda ṣaghīra, ḩaṣīra ṣaghīra tu'mal min sa'af an-nakhl wa-turmal bil-khuyūṭ, ḩadr mā yasdjīd 'alaihi al-muṣallī*; "small mat of palm leaves" (Salmoné), "mat of palm trees" (sic!) (Hava), "kleiner Gebetsteppich" (Wahrmund), "petit tapis" (Dozy). The word is not mentioned in Elias nor in Spiro, and is therefore probably unused in the written and spoken Arabic of modern Egypt.

Numruḳ(a) (Kāmūs, Lisān, al-Bustānī, Salmoné, Hava, Wahrmund), *nimriḳ(a)* (Lisān, Salmoné, Wahrmund), *namraḳ(a)* (Salmoné, Hava, Wahrmund) and mixed forms (Elias),

¹ *Ars Islamica*, I, 219-222. The same abbreviations are here used, and furthermore: Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863-1893 (incomplete from *ḩ* onward); Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge, 1896-1898, third ed.); Yāḩūt, *al-Muṣṭariḩ waḩ'an wal-muṭṭariḩ* (or *mukhtalif*) *ṣaḩ'an*, ed. Wüsten-

feldt, Göttingen, 1846; Ibn Duḩmāḩ, *al-Intiṣār li-wāṣiṭa 'aḩd al-amṣār*, ed. Vollers, Cairo, 1309/1891, Indices, 1314/1896, French title page and preface, 1893. The abbreviation *s.v.* has been omitted, and may everywhere be understood, after reference to dictionaries.

plural *namāriḳ*, equated carelessly with *zarbīya* by early writers (see preceding article, p. 221), is an ancient word which may very well be of foreign origin, since it has four consonants and perhaps an excrement *m*, and refers to what may have been an article of commerce. It is defined as "the small cushion" (Kāmūs, Lisān, ar-Rāzī, al-Bustānī, *Shar-tūnī*), "the saddlecloth" (Kāmūs, al-Bustānī, *Shar-tūnī*), "the *ṭinḡasa* (q.v. *sup.*) on top of the saddle" (all five authorities): *al-wisāda aṣ-ṣaghīra*, *al-mīḥara*, *al-ṭinḡasa fauḳ ar-raḥl*; "saddle cushion" (Hava), "cushion, pillow, *wisāda*" (Elias). It is not mentioned in Spiro, and is therefore probably not used in Egyptian colloquial.

Zūliya does not appear in any of the sources accessible to me, except Yāḳūt (see preceding article, p. 222), where it is said to be a more modern equivalent of *ḳaṭīfa*. Messrs. Ḥasan Rufā'ī and Ḥusain Ṣaffār of Iraq inform me that the term is now used for any rug that is used as a centre-piece and surrounded by smaller rugs.

Ḳaṭīfa, plural *ḳaṭā'if*, *ḳuṭuṣ* (cf. *ḳaṭā'if*, "noodles" etc., ar-Rāzī and elsewhere), said to be an older word for *maḥḡūra* and *zūliya* (see preceding article, p. 222), is apparently a genuine Arabic word, derived from the verb *ḳaṭafa*, "to pluck, to scratch." The form may have an adjectival or a passive verbal sense (Wright, Indexes, II, 406). The original meaning is accordingly "plucked" or "scratchy"; and the reference is to the surface texture of a fabric, not to the shape, form or other characteristics of some commodity made therefrom. Since publication of the previous article Professor S. Reich has called my attention to a place called (*al*-)*Ḳuṭaiyifa* or (*al*-)*Ḳuṭaiifa* (variously spelled) in Musil, *Palmyrena* (New York, 1928), 38, 224, 250, mentioned by Ḳudāma,² Mas'ūdī³ and Thevenot,⁴ in addition to Yāḳūt, previously cited. It is about twenty-four miles northeast of Damascus, on the road to Palmyra, according to Ḳudāma (p. 218) and Baedeker, *Palaestina und Syrien* (Leipzig, 1910) p. 315 and map inside back cover. In Yāḳūt's *Mushtarik* three places are listed as bearing the name al-Ḳuṭaiyifa: one of them in Syria, the one above mentioned, and two others, in the "eastern" part of Egypt, which I do not find mentioned by Ibn Duḡmāḳ nor elsewhere. If the first form is correct, the name is derived from *ḳaṭīfa*, and means "little *ḳaṭīfa*"; if the second is correct, it is derived from *ḳaṭṣ*, *ḳiṭṣ* or *ḳaṭaṣ*, each of which has several meanings, and the result is a corresponding diminutive. But, whatever the meaning of the place-name, the common noun *ḳaṭīfa* is not derived from it. On the contrary, *ḳaṭīfa* is a simple adjectival or participial form, derived directly from the root.

The word is defined as "a piled (or fringed) outer garment" (Kāmūs, ar-Rāzī, *Shar-tūnī*) "which a man puts over himself when asleep" (al-Bustānī): *dithār mukḡmal* (or *mukḡhammal*) *yulḡihi ar-radḡul 'alā nafsīhi* 'ind an-naum; "plush" (Salmoné), "velvet" (Hava, Wahrmund, Elias, Spiro), "velveteen, *mukḡmal*" (Elias), "Satin, haariger Teppich, Bettdecke" (Wahrmund). "La pièce d'étoffe à long poil qui porte ce nom, servait anciennement de manteau et de couverture de lit . . . , plus tard seulement de couverture; . . . couvrent-pied; . . . couverture de chameau, . . . tapis, tapis de Turquie, . . . velours, . . .

² de Goeje, VI, 218.

⁴ *Voyages* . . . (Amsterdam, 1727), II, 85.

³ de Goeje, VIII, 306.

amarante, . . . passe-velours" (Dozy). *Ḳaṭīfa* is equated with *ḳarṭafa* (*q.v. inf.*) (Lisān).

Ḳarṭafa, *ḳarṭaf* (Wahrmund), no plural given, may be suspected of being related to *ḳaṭīfa* by common derivation from the widely distributed Semitic root *ḲṬP*, through some unknown and probably foreign channel; or it may be an unrelated foreign word, assimilated to *ḳaṭīfa*. *Ḳarṭafa* is defined as "the *ḳaṭīfa*" (Ḳāmūs, Lisān) "with a pile" (Shartūnī): *al-ḳaṭīfa al-mukḥmala*; "satin, velvet" (Salmoné, Wahrmund), "red garment" (sic! Hava). Nothing is found in ar-Rāzī or al-Bustānī, nor in Dozy, Elias or Spiro, from which it may be inferred that the word is not very important, and is not modern.

Farsh, plural *furūsh* and, in Egyptian colloquial, *furūshāt* (Spiro), appears to be the verbal noun (*cf. infra firāsh*, the concrete noun), related to the verb *farasha*, "to spread out." By a familiar process the name of the action becomes the name of the thing acted upon, as when English "spread" comes to mean "coverlet" and "jelly." It may however be a singular, formed from *firāsh* (*q.v. inf.*) as a plural. It means "that which is spread out, household furniture" (Ḳāmūs, Lisān, ar-Rāzī, al-Bustānī, Shartūnī): *al-mafrūsh min matā 'al-bait*; "Alles was auf den Boden gebreitet wird" (Wahrmund). More specifically it means "mat" (Hava, Wahrmund), "carpet" (Hava, Salmoné, Wahrmund), "tapisserie" (Dozy), "bedding" (Elias, Spiro), "mattress" (Hava, Wahrmund), and even "furniture" (Hava, Salmoné, Elias, Spiro).

Firāsh, plural *furush*, *afirisha* (not *furūsh*, Wahrmund), is the concrete noun related to the verb *farasha*. It is of the same form as *bisāṭ* (see preceding article, p. 219), *ḥirām* (*q.v. inf.*) and a number of words of similar meaning: *libās*, *liḥāf*, *izār*, *ridā'* etc. (Wright, I, 175). But it is also the verbal noun, and as such becomes the name of the thing acted upon, "*fī'āl* in the sense of *ma'fūl*, like *kitāb* in the sense of *maktūb*" (Shartūnī): *fī'āl bi-ma'nā ma'fūl ki-kitāb bi-ma'nā maktūb*. It means "that which is spread out" (al-Bustānī) "and slept upon" (Shartūnī): *mā yufrash wa-yunām 'alaihi*; "bed, mattress" (Salmoné, Hava, Wahrmund), "Kissen" (Wahrmund), "mat, carpet" (Hava), "tent" (Salmoné). The word occurs in the Ḳur'ān (II, 20), and is given by Lane on the authority of Ḳāmūs and other older sources, as a concrete noun; but I fail to find it as a concrete noun in either of my copies of Ḳāmūs, or in the Lisān, though it is mentioned as a verbal noun. Elias equates it with *farsha* (*q.v. inf.*). Spiro does not mention it, and it is probably therefore not a modern Egyptian word.

Farsha, plural *firāsh* (Dozy), *farshāt* (Spiro), is without doubt originally the *nomen vicis* of the verb *farasha*, corresponding to *firsha*, the *nomen speciei* (Wright, I, 122-124), and meaning "a single occurrence of the act of spreading." Then, like *farsh*, it became concrete: "bed" (Salmoné, Hava, Dozy, Wahrmund, Elias, Spiro), "mattress" (Salmoné, Dozy, Wahrmund, Elias), "mat" (Hava, Wahrmund), "hamac" (Dozy), "tenture" (Dozy), "carpet" (Dozy, Wahrmund). Spiro equates it with *firāsh*. Several of the writers mark it as colloquial or Egyptian. Older writers do not mention it.

Namaṭ, plural *nimāt*, *anmāt*, *nimṭāt* (Lisān), *anmiṭa* (Dozy), is without doubt the Syriac word *namṭā*, which Brockelmann defines as "stratum, pannus" and indicates as of Persian origin. "Stratum" is "anything spread out, covering, horse-cloth, housing, saddle,

coverlet, pillow, bed," and "pannus" is a "piece of cloth." The word is thus originally a very general term, like *bisāṭ*, *farsh*, *firāsh* and *farsha*, and an Aramaic commercial term, like *ṭinfasa*, whatever its ultimate origin may be. It is defined as "outer surface of a *firāsh* of whatsoever sort, or a variety of the *bisāṭs*" (Lisān, Kāmūs, Shartūnī), "having a fine pile" (Lisān): *ḡihūrat firāsh mā, au ḡarb min al-bus(u)ṭ, lahu khaml raḡīḡ*; "a garment of wool, laid upon the howdah" (Kāmūs, Shartūnī), "having one of the colours" (al-Bustānī, Shartūnī): *ṭhaub ṣūf yuṭraḡ 'alā al-haudaḡ dhū laun min al-ahwān*; "covering, carpet, cloth" (Salmoné), "carpet, saddlecloth" (Hava), "Wollendecke, Ueberzug" (Wahrmund), "tapis qu'on étend sur le bisāṭ" (Dozy). Lisān in a long passage insists that the *namaṭ* must be coloured, cannot be white. Nothing is said in ar-Rāzī, nor in Spiro, and nothing pertinent in Elias, from which one may conclude that the word is not very important, and is not modern Egyptian.

Hirām, plural *hirāmāt* (Dozy), for *ihrām* (Lane, Dozy), under the influence of *firāsh*, *libās*, *liḡāḡ* etc. (q.v. *sup.*), is defined as "garment worn by the people of northern Africa and Spain, just as the *fūṭa* ("apron"?) "napkin"? is worn by the people of Egypt and the East": *ṭhaub yalbisuhu ahl al-maḡrib wal-andalus kamā yalbis ahl miṣr wa-ahl al-maḡrib al-fūṭa* (al-Bustānī); "cloak, coverlet, blanket" (Salmoné), "blanket used as a garment" (Hava), "rug, baṭṭānīya" (q.v. *inf.*) (Elias), "wollene Decke" (Wahrmund), "pièce d'étoffe de laine blanche" (Dozy), which, the latter says, is used especially by Maghribis, as a garment by day and a covering by night, or as a carpet, and so called because it resembles the *ihrām* of the pilgrim; also "un chāle qui couvre la moitié du visage" (Dozy). Being a modern word, it is not found in the older writers.

Baṭṭānīya, no plural given, is composed of an intensive adjectival form from the root *BṬN*, meaning "inside, stomach," and the ending *-īya*, applied to words indicating appliances (see preceding article, p. 220). Just what the word means, or how it came about is not clear. It is defined as "rug" (Elias), "blanket" (Spiro), "large woolen blanket" (Hava), "peau garnis de sa toison . . . couverture bariolé en laine . . . douillette (sorte de vêtement)" (Dozy). Nothing is found in Salmoné or Wahrmund, and nothing in the older writers. It is apparently a modern Maghribi and Egyptian word.

Iklīm, plural *akālīm*, I find only in Dozy, who defines it as "tapis."

It would seem that *farsh*, *firāsh* and *farsha* are essentially general terms for all household furnishings of heavy fabric; that *kaṭīṣa* or *kaṭaṣa* is a term for any *piled fabric or article made therefrom*; that *zūlīya* (like *bisāṭ*) is a *large rug*, and *saḡḡāda* or *khumra* a *small rug*; that *namaṭ* is a *sur-rug*; that *hirām* and *baṭṭānīya* are kinds of *blankets*; and that *numruḡ* is a *saddle-covering*.

QUELQUES MONUMENTS DE BOIS SCULPTÉ AU TURKESTĀN OCCIDENTAL

PAR BORIS DENIKÉ

LE BOIS SCULPTÉ, COMME UNE ESPÈCE DE L'ART DÉCORATIF, EXISTAIT AU TURKESTĀN OCCIDENTAL depuis l'époque ancienne. On décorait du bois sculpté aussi bien les édifices civils que les monuments religieux. Dans les maisons privées, nous trouvons des portes en bois sculpté, des colonnes en bois, servant des supports aux plafonds. Ces colonnes étaient décorées par la ciselure ou ornées en relief. Dans les monuments religieux musulmans, comme les mosquées, les mausolées, les madrasas, il y avait encore, entre les portes et colonnes, des mihrābs en bois sculpté, les plafonds richement décorés et des cénotaphes en bois sculpté.

La matière pour ces portes, pour ces colonnes sculptées était les diverses espèces du bois local, pour la plupart, le noyer, le platane, l'artcha (*Juniperus*) et dans les temps modernes le peuplier.

Les monuments de cette espèce ne sont encore assemblés et étudiés que d'une manière très incomplète. Grâce à cela, en ce moment, nous n'avons pas encore la possibilité de donner un tableau complet de l'évolution du bois sculpté au Turkestan. Pour cela, dans cet article, nous ne voulons que poser la question de l'étude de cette branche intéressante de l'art décoratif et nous nous bornerons à la publication d'un certain nombre des monuments depuis IX^e-X^e siècles de notre ère jusqu'au XIX^e siècle, en indiquant des particularités spécifiques de principaux groupes chronologiques et locaux.

Les plus anciens des monuments en bois sculpté que nous connaissons datent de l'époque pré-mongol (IX^e-XII^e siècles de notre ère) et peuvent être divisés en deux groupes principaux: d'un côté, les monuments de la vallée de la rivière de Zarafshān dans les montagnes de Tadjikistān, de l'autre les monuments de la même époque à Kḥiwa.

Nous allons examiner d'abord le premier groupe. De monuments découverts dans les montagnes du Tadjikistān, nous connaissons deux colonnes—une de l'Oburdān et l'autre de Kurut, trois panneaux en bois du village Oburdān provenant du même édifice que la colonne (*Fig. 2*) et, enfin, un mihrāb en bois sculpté de la mosquée du village Iskodār (*Fig. 4*). La colonne d'Oburdān était découverte par le prof. M. S. Andreieff en 1915 et les autres monuments ont été découverts par lui pendant son expédition en 1925.¹

La colonne d'Oburdān et les trois panneaux en bois ont été transportés aux musées de Tāshkent et Samarḳand, les autres monuments se trouvent encore sur leurs places d'origine.

Les plus anciens de ces monuments qui remontent probablement à la fin du premier millénaire de notre ère, sont ceux d'Oburdān à Matsha (*Fig. 1*). La colonne provient d'une mosquée de construction récente, mais déjà à demi-ruinée au cimetière du village Oburdān;

¹ La colonne d'Oburdān était publiée par M. S. Andreieff dans son article "La colonne en bois à Matsha," *Le Bulletin de l'Académie de l'histoire de la culture matérielle*, Vol. IV, Leningrad, 1925 (en russe). La colonne de Kurut, mihrāb d'Iskodār et un des panneaux

du musée de Tāshkent sont publiés par M. S. Andreieff et M. E. Masson dans le recueil: *A travers le Tadjikistān*, Tāshkent, 1927 (en russe); le panneau du Musée de Samarḳand est publié par E. Cohn-Wiener *Turan*, Berlin, 1930, Pl. IX.

la matière dont elle est faite est l'artcha (Juniperus). L'ornement de son chapiteau contient un motif de têtes d'oiseaux très stylisés, une petite frise d'arcs circulaires, une frise de perles du type encore sasanide et des rinceaux allongés, d'un type pareil à celui de Sāmarrā et des panneaux en bois sculpté tūlūnides.

Ces fragments de panneaux en bois sculpté se rapprochent beaucoup au point de vue stylistique de cette colonne (*Fig. 2*). La construction de la composition est déterminée par la ligne ondulaire de deux êtres fantastiques en forme de serpents se rapprochant par leurs têtes. Dans l'espace, formée par ces serpents, nous trouvons une composition symétrique de rinceaux et de vrilles avec des pointes courbées. Nous attribuons ces panneaux au IX^e-X^e siècles.

La colonne de Kurut (*Fig. 3*) est aussi un monument très intéressant. Les dimensions de cette colonne sont publiées dans le compte-rendu de M. S. Andreieff.² L'hauteur de la colonne sans support—2,435 m.; dans sa partie inférieure la colonne a 1,44 m. de tour. La colonne est ornée à la hauteur de 0,32 m. d'une petite frise. Depuis la hauteur de 1,21 m. nous trouvons quatre consoles, sculptés dans le même fût que la colonne; ces colonnes sont aussi ornementées. Depuis la hauteur de 1,40 m. et jusque le sommet de son chapiteau, la colonne est complètement travaillée d'un ornement sculpté. L'ornement sculpté du chapiteau peut être divisé en deux parties: la partie supérieure qui est la plus grande, représente une seule composition ornementale, celle d'en bas consiste de quatre frises superposées. La frise inférieure est composée de trèfles réunis par de petits arcs circulaires.

L'ornement de la partie supérieure représente une répétition rythmique du motif des demi-palmettes. Un motif analogue existe sur le chapiteau d'une des colonnes de la mosquée Djum'a à Khīwa (*Fig. 5*) et sur la base de la colonne de l'édifice No. 1 à Tirmidh, découvert pendant les fouilles de 1928 par l'expédition du Musée des cultures orientales à Moscou (*Fig. 6*).³

Nous datons la décoration en stuc de Tirmidh de la fin du XI^e ou du commencement du XII^e siècle. La colonne de Kurut peut être attribuée à la même époque.

Le mihrāb en bois sculpté, qui se trouve dans la mosquée du village Iskodār (*Fig. 4*) mérite une grande attention. Ce mihrāb est très finement sculpté et porte une inscription coufique. Il peut être attribué au XI^e-XII^e siècles. Ce monument peut être comparé au point de vue de sa valeur artistique aux trois mihrābs fātimides du XII^e siècle au Musée Arabe du Caire. L'étude détaillée de ce monument remarquable de l'art islamique doit être une des tâches des expéditions futures dans cette partie du Tādjikistān difficilement accessible.

Nous voyons un autre groupe de monuments en bois sculpté de l'époque pré-mongole, dans la porte et les colonnes sculptées de la mosquée Djum'a à Khīwa qui ont été étudiées par nous pendant l'expédition de 1930. Cette mosquée possède 213 colonnes en bois et au moins 20 de ces colonnes peuvent être attribuées par leur style et leur technique au X^e-XII^e

² *A travers le Tādjikistān*, (en russe), p. 10, note.

tée de Termez," *Cahiers d'Art*, 1930, 1, p. 43, Fig. 7.

³ Cf. aussi B. Deniké, "La décoration en stuc sculpté de Termez,"



FIG. 1—LA COLONNE D'OBURDÂN À MATSHA
N^o SIÈCLE, MUSÉE DE TASHKENT



FIG. 2—UN PANNEAU EN BOIS SCULPTÉ, OBURDÂN À MATSHA, N^o SIÈCLE

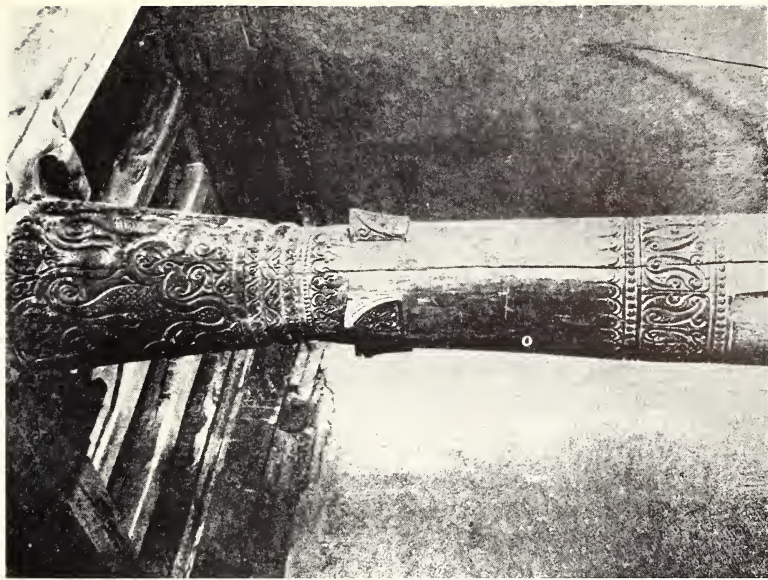


FIG. 3—LA COLONNE DE KURUT À MATSHA, N^o SIÈCLE

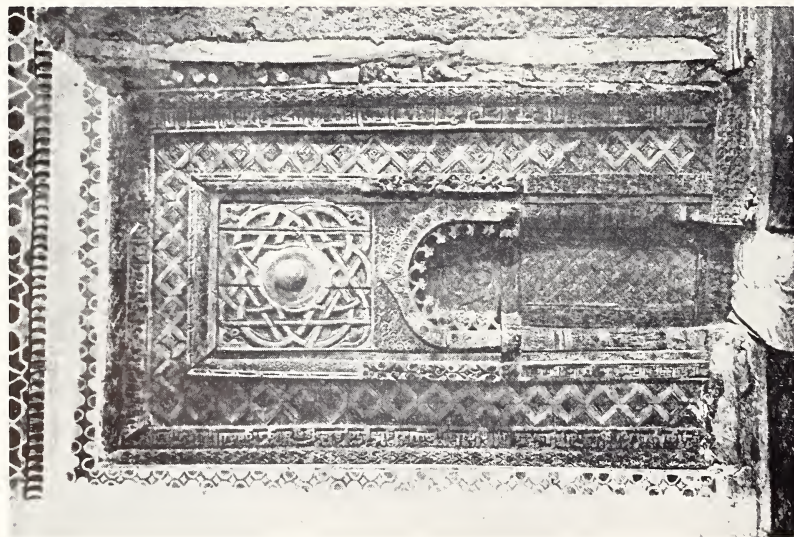


FIG. 4—LE MIHRÂB DE LA MOSQUÉE DU VILLAGE ISKODÂR
ÉPOQUE PRÉMONGOLIE XI-XII^e SIÈCLE
(PHOTO B. M. NIKIFOROFF)

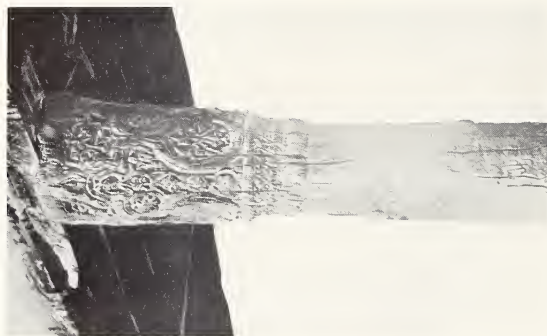


FIG. 5—LA COLONNE DE LA MOSQUÉE
DJUM'A À KHIWA, XI-XII^e SIÈCLE



FIGS. 7, 8—LES COLONNES DE LA MOSQUÉE DJUM'A À KHIWA, XI^e-XII^e SIÈCLE

(PHOTO B. M. NIKIFOROFF)



FIG. 6—LA BASE DE LA COLONNE DE L'ÉDIFICE I À TIRMIDH
FIN DU XII^e SIÈCLE

(PHOTO P. E. KORNILOFF)

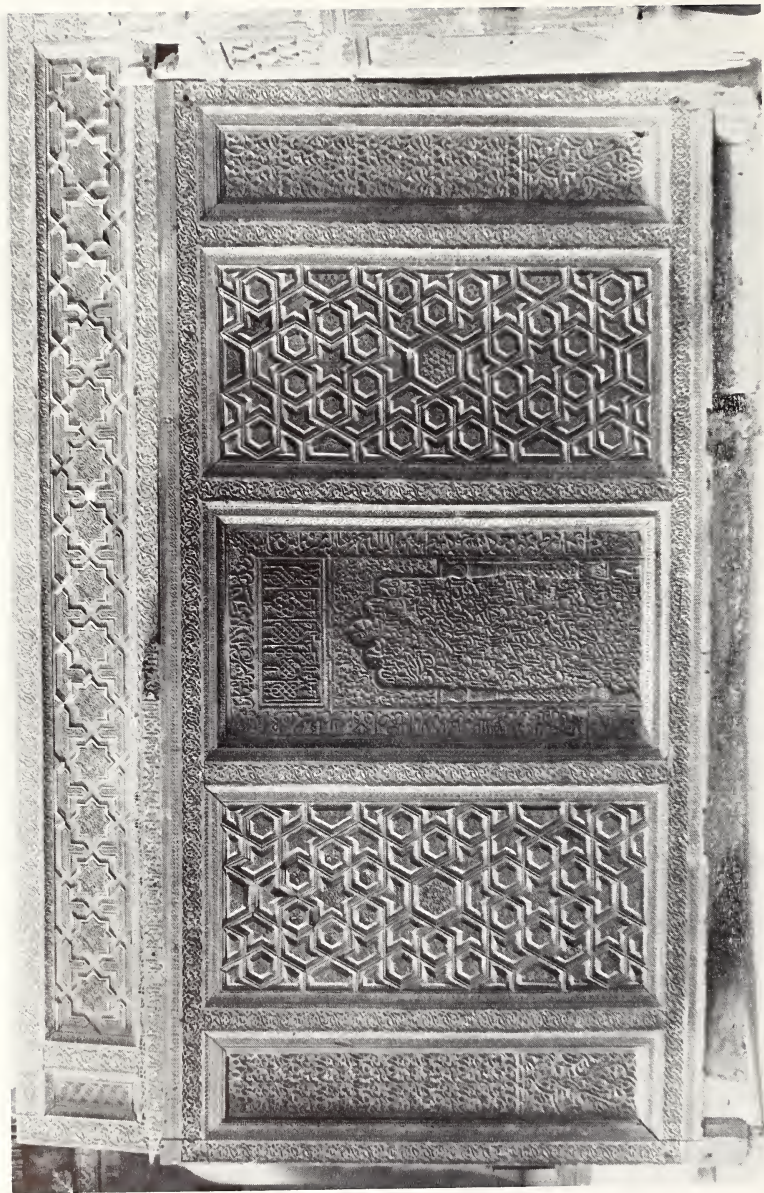
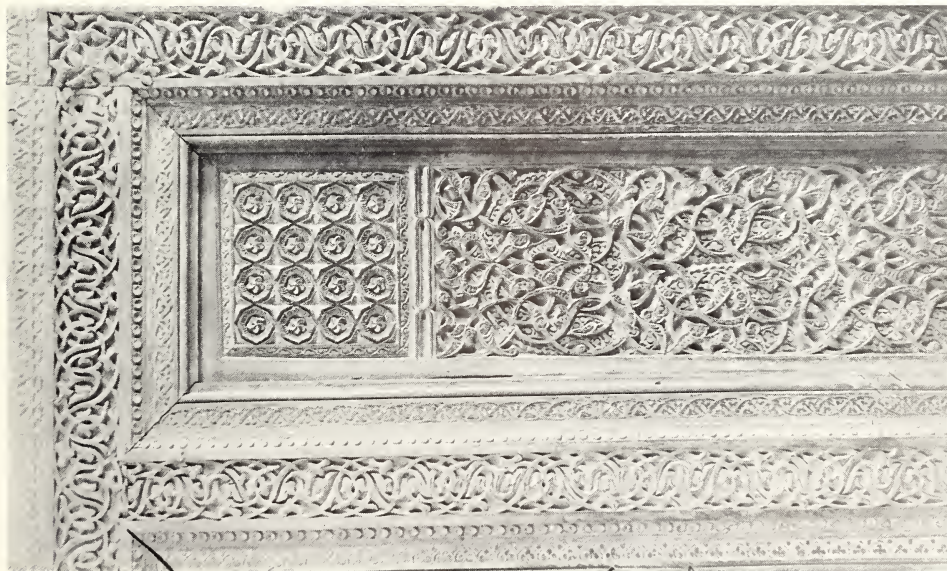


FIG. 9—LE CÉNOTAPHE DE SAÏF AL-DÏN BAKHARĀ, XIV^e SIÈCLE, MUSÉE DE BUKHARĀ
(PHOTO D. H. POJARICHCHENSKI)



FIGS 10, 11—LE CÉNOTAPHE DE SAÏF AL-DÏN BÂKHARZÏ, DÉTAILS
(PHOTO D. H. POJARCHITSINSKI)

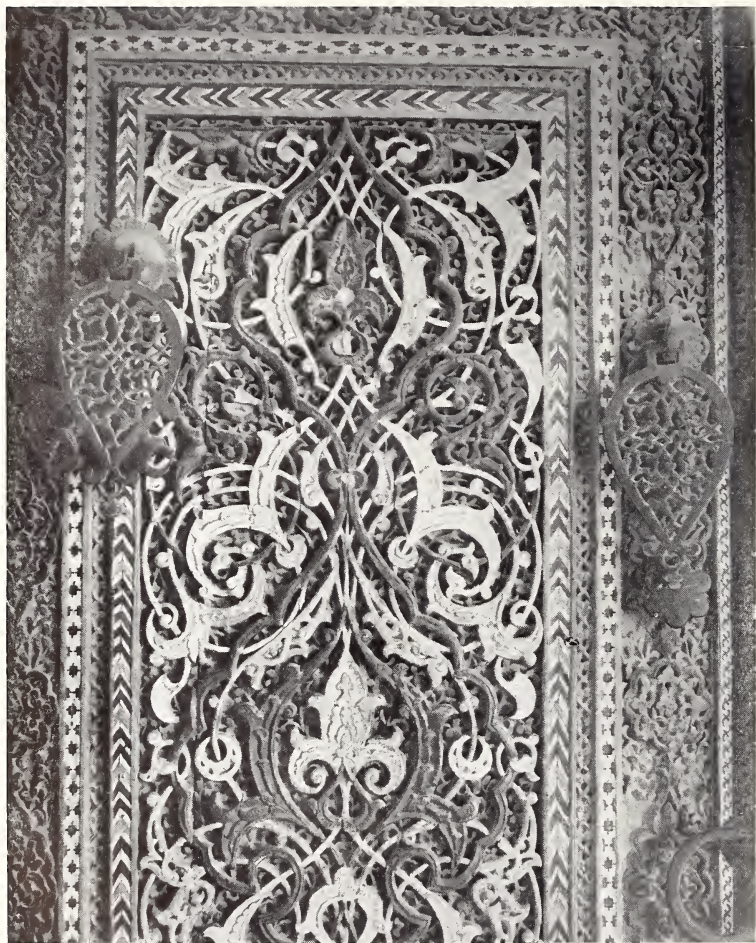


FIG. 12—LA PORTE DE LA MOSQUÉE À SHĀH-I ZINDE, SAMARKAND, FIN DU XIV^e SIÈCLE

siècles de notre ère. La mosquée qui existe actuellement est de construction récente. En général, Khīwa dans son aspect actuel ne possède pas de constructions plus anciennes que le XVII^e siècle.

Mais l'ancienne Khīwa était située sur la même place et déjà les géographes arabes citent Khīwa comme une ville importante au X^e siècle. La première construction de la mosquée de Djum'a pourrait peut-être être attribuée à cette époque. Et les anciennes colonnes de bois sculpté, transportées dans la nouvelle mosquée, datent probablement de la même époque ou d'une époque un peu postérieure.

Examinons quelques types d'ornements de la décoration de ces colonnes. Le motif de demi-palmettes sur le chapiteau d'une colonne et le motif analogue sur la colonne de Kurut et sur la base d'une colonne en stuc sculpté de Tirmidh ont déjà été mentionnés.

Sur le fût d'une autre colonne (*Fig. 7*) au dessous d'une inscription coranique coufique, nous trouvons un ornement de bandes entrecroisées sous un angle aigu et obtus. Dans la composition générale de ce motif ornemental, nous voyons une certaine ressemblance avec le motif au revers convexe d'un mihrāb au Musée Arabe à Caire attribué au deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle, qui provient de la chapelle de al-Saiyida Ruḳaiya.⁴ Enfin sur une autre colonne encore, nous trouvons un ornement sculpté très compliqué et intéressant (*Fig. 8*). Nous voyons ici en bas et en haut, deux frises étroites ornées d'une composition ornementale de volutes gravées et entre ces deux frises une composition qui consiste en un entrelacement symétrique de bandes avec des motifs végétaux. Ces motifs ont un caractère plus naturalistique dans les espaces restés vides entre ces bandes entrelacées.

Des monuments qui peuvent être attribués à l'époque après l'invasion mongole nous allons examiner seulement un cénotaphe en bois sculpté du mausolée Saif al-Dīn Bāḳharzī, situé à Fathābād près de Bukhārā. Ce cénotaphe se trouve actuellement dans le musée de Bukhārā. Ce cénotaphe est remarquable par la finesse de l'exécution, la variété d'ornements et par la technique même. Nous voyons ici des types différents de relief, du bas-relief jusqu'au haut-relief. Sur le côté de ce cénotaphe dont nous donnons la reproduction (*Fig. 9*), la composition générale est divisée en cinq panneaux. Le panneau central est orné d'un arc porté par deux colonnes; tout l'espace du panneau est recouvert d'inscriptions. Les panneaux à droite et à gauche sont remplis d'un ornement géométrique d'entrelacements symétriques formant les étoiles et polygones. Les deux panneaux angulaires plus étroites sont divisés en deux parties inégales. La partie inférieure plus petite est ornée d'une figure dans le genre de demi-palmettes. Au dessus des panneaux, nous voyons une frise, ornée d'un motif d'étoiles et de demi-croix, typique pour l'art islamique. Nous donnons encore la reproduction de l'autre côté de ce cénotaphe (*Figs. 10 et 11*). Sur l'un de ces dessins, nous voyons le motif d'une demi-palmette double; le traitement du motif ornemental a une grande ressemblance avec le panneau de la mosquée Ibn Ṭūlūn au Caire (1296), publié par R. Ettinghausen.⁵ Le cénotaphe de Bāḳharzī ne peut être antérieur à 1261, date de la mort de

⁴ G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1927, Vol. I, Fig. 124.

⁵ "Aegyptische Holzschnitzereien aus islamischer Zeit," *Berliner Museen*, Heft 1, 1933, Fig. 18.

Bākhārzi. Mais par les données stylistiques, il peut être daté du milieu du XIV^e siècle de notre ère.

Nous connaissons au Turkestan, une série de portes de l'époque du Timūr. Premièrement, c'est la porte du Mausolée Gūr-i Mīr à Samarqand (actuellement à l'Ermitage à Lénin-grad),⁶ la porte de Shāh-i Zinde à Samarqand et deux portes de la mosquée de Aḥmed Yesewī dans la ville Turkestan.

Les portes de Aḥmed Yesewī ont une date précise. Sur les planchettes de bronze de la porte de Khānekāh, introduisant dans l'intérieur même du mausolée d'Yesewī, on lit le nom de l'artiste Izz al-Dīn et la date 797 de l'hégire (1394/95 de notre ère). Nous lisons le nom du même artiste et la date 799 de l'hégire (1397) sur la plaque de bronze de la porte principale de la mosquée.⁷

Par sa composition générale et par le caractère de l'ornementation, tous ces monuments datant à peu près de la même époque, peuvent être attribués par leur style à un seul groupe. La composition de ces portes est conçue de la manière suivante. Chaque moitié d'une porte consiste de trois panneaux. Celui d'en haut et d'en bas carrés et celui du milieu —qui est plus grand—allongés. Le panneau d'en haut porte l'inscription, les autres sont richement décorés d'ornements végétaux. Les panneaux sont entourés d'un cadre ornementé. Pendant l'époque de Timūr, l'ornementation de ce groupe des portes devient de plus en plus riche et compliqué. La plus ancienne datant de 1394-95, est la porte intérieure de la mosquée d'Yesewī, ensuite vient la porte extérieure de la même mosquée et la plus récente est la porte de Gūr-i Mīr exécutée bientôt après la mort de Timūr (1405).

La porte de Shāh-i Zinde (Fig. 12—un détail) est plus difficile à dater, mais à cause de la plus grande ressemblance stylistique à la porte d'Yesewī, qu'à celle de Gūr-i Mīr, nous pouvons l'attribuer aux dernières années du XIV^e siècle.

L'ornementation de la porte intérieure d'Yesewī (Fig. 13) est la plus simple. Dans le panneau du milieu se répètent des motifs végétaux stylisés. Dans le panneau d'en bas, nous voyons une étoile octogonale qui se répète encore au centre. L'encadrement consiste dans une répétition d'une figure géométrique avec quelques éléments d'ornement végétal en relief très bas.

L'ornement de la porte extérieure⁸ est plus compliqué. Le panneau central présente une composition intégrale avec un arc à sept lobes dans la partie supérieure, au dessus duquel nous voyons des motifs ornementaux végétaux en relief plus bas. Le cadre présente un entrelacement géométrique de bandes.

L'ornementation de la porte de Shāh-i Zinde est un exemple de travail sculpté très riche et compliqué à plusieurs plans.⁹ L'ornement végétal est placé ici non seulement dans les panneaux centraux, mais aussi dans les encadrements principaux. Cette porte est sculptée

⁶ F. R. Martin, *Die Türen von Turkestan*, Stockholm, 1897.

⁷ M. E. Masson, "Sur la construction du mausolée de Khodja Aḥmed à Turkestan," *Bulletin de la société géographique de l'Asie centrale*, Vol. XIX, 1929, p. 42

(en russe).

⁸ Cohn-Wiener, *op. cit.*, Pl. LX.

⁹ La reproduction voir: Kraft, *A travers le Turkestan Russe*, 1902, p. 54; Migeon, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Fig. 142.



FIG. 13—LA PORTE DE LA MOSQUÉE D'VESEWĪ À TURKESTĀN, DATÉE 1394/95
(PHOTO M. M. LOGUINOFF)

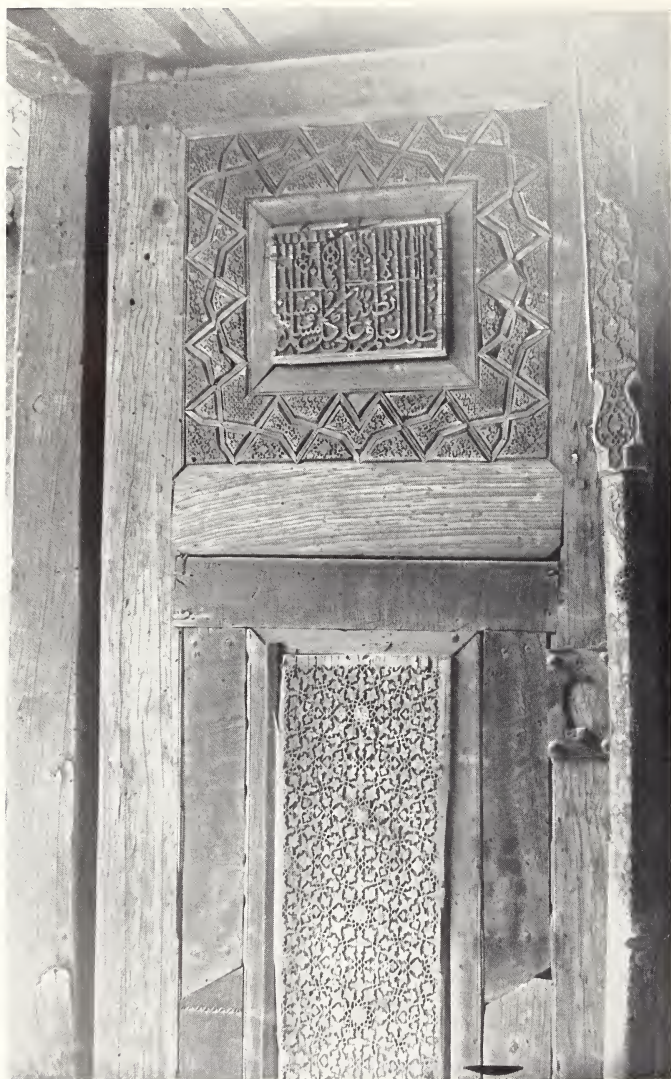


FIG. 14—LA PORTE DE LA MADRASA D'ULUGH BEG, SAMARKAND, DATÉE 1417

(PHOTO D. H. POJARITCHENSKI)

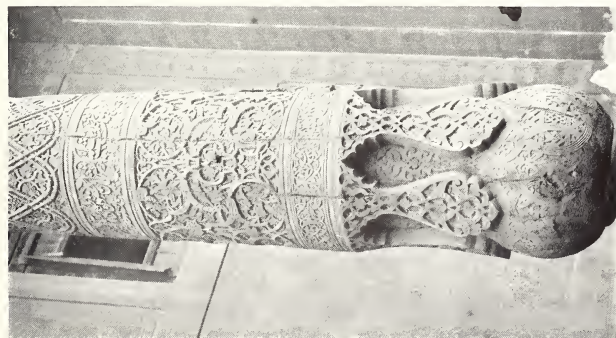


FIG. 15—UNE COLONNE DU PALAIS DES
KUTANS DE KATHWA, C. 1820

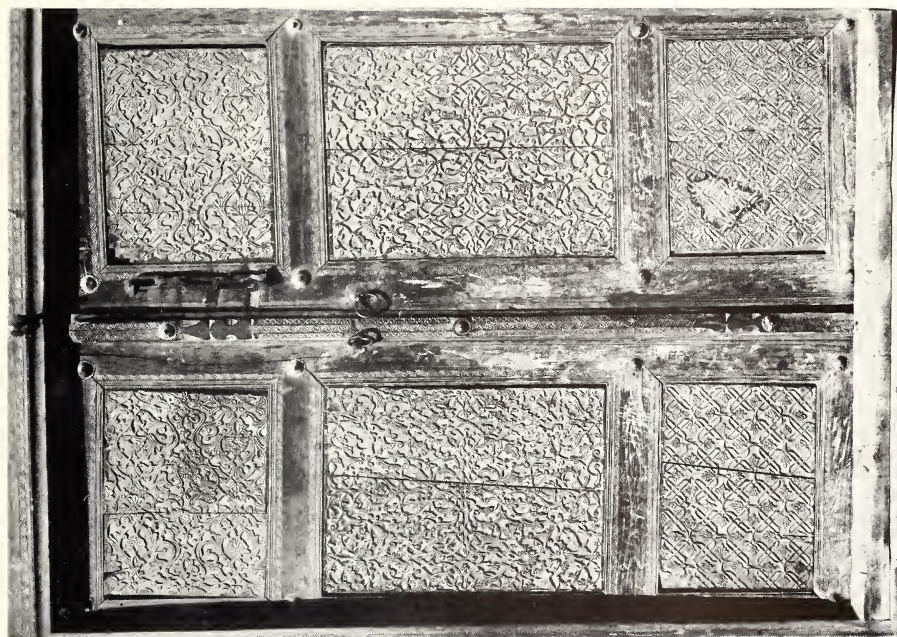


FIG. 16—LA PORTE DE MADRASA RUSTAM BEG À URA TUBÉ, C. 1870

(PHOTO P. E. KOENIGLOFF)

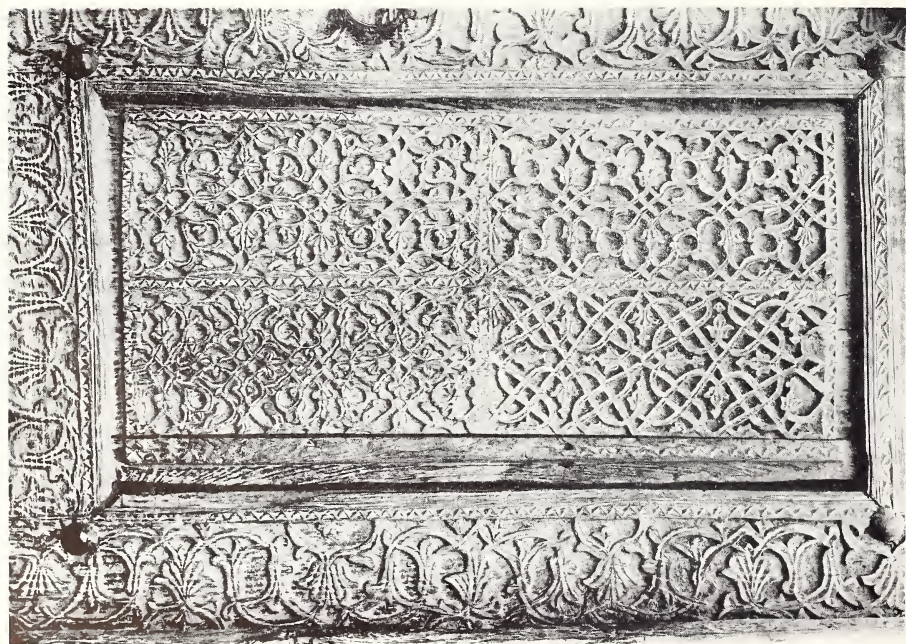


FIG. 17—LA PORTE D'ISKI MAZÂR À URA TUBÉ, XIX^e SIÈCLE
(PHOTO P. E. KOENIGLOFF)

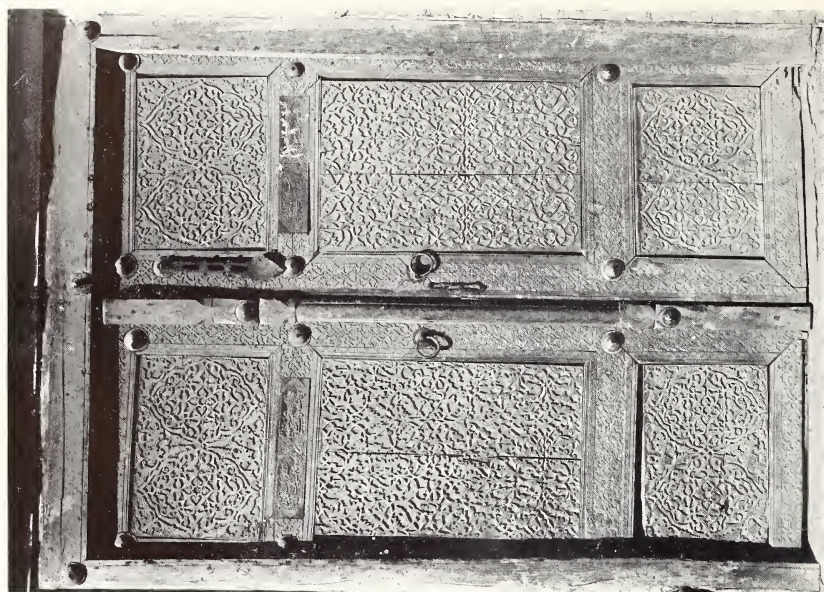


FIG. 18—LA PORTE DE LA MOSQUÉE KÔK GUMBÉZ À URA TUBÉ
XIX^e SIÈCLE
(PHOTO P. E. KOENIGLOFF)

de bois de noyer et est recouverte d'une peinture multicolore. La peinture a été sans doute plusieurs fois retouchée.

De l'époque des tīmūrides, nous reproduisons ici (*Fig. 14*) un détail de la porte de madrasa d'Ulugh Beg, qui a été construite en 820 de l'hégire (1417 de notre ère).

Les travaux artistiques de bois sculpté existaient au Turkestān jusqu'au XVII^e et même jusqu'au XIX^e siècle. Les centres principaux de cet art étaient Khīwa, Tāshkent, Khokand, etc.

L'étude du bois sculpté de l'époque postérieure doit être le thème d'un article spécial. Ici nous ne reproduisons que quelques spécimens intéressants: une colonne du palais des khāns de Khīwa (*Fig. 15*), une porte de madrasa Rustam Beg à Ura Tubē (*Fig. 16*) une porte de l'Iskī Mazār à Ura Tubē (*Fig. 17*) et une porte de la mosquée Kōk Gumbaz dans la même ville (*Fig. 18*). Toutes ces portes appartiennent au milieu du XIX^e siècle.¹⁰

¹⁰ Elles ont été reproduites chez B. Deniké, "Sur les portes de bois sculpté en Asie centrale," *Recueil en hon-*

neur de B. A. Gorodtsoff, Moscou, 1928, Pls. XI et XII.

PERSISCHE SEIDENSTOFFE DER SELDJÜKENZEIT VON J. HEINRICH SCHMIDT

ANLÄSSLICH DER INTERNATIONALEN AUSSTELLUNG PERSISCHER KUNST IM BURLINGTON House zu London im Jahre 1931 war sehr viel von den für die allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft, insbesondere für die Geschichte der Textilkunst wichtigen seldjükenischen Seidenstoffen die Rede, die zum Teil angeblich aus Raubgrabungen in der Umgegend von Ray (Bibi Shahre Bānū) stammen. In zahlreichen angesehenen Kunstzeitschriften wurden die mannigfaltigen Probleme um diese Stoffe erörtert, vor allem das Nachleben altorientalischer und sasanidischer Motive zum Teil in hellenistischer Prägung.¹ Es sei an die seltsame Darstellung eines sasanidischen Königs im Körper eines Adlers erinnert mit der bekannten Haartracht in Gestalt mächtiger Lockenbüsche und mit einer Strahlenkrone. Es liegt wahrscheinlich eine Verquickung des Ganymedmotifs mit der zur Seldjükenzeit durch den Iskandar-Roman wieder auflebenden Vorstellung von der Himmelfahrt Alexanders des Grossen vor. (E. Herzfeld führt dieses Motiv auf eine altorientalische Mythe zurück).² Weniger kam bei der Verfolgung der altorientalischen Anregungen die ästhetisch formale Seite zur Geltung, die angesichts der sasanidischen Perspektiven die höchste Beachtung verdient und besonders von O. von Falke wenigstens für die frühislamische Epoche in Persien gebührend hervorgehoben wurde.

Professor Wace,³ der eins der schönsten und frühesten Stücke dieser Gruppe seldjükenischer Seidenstoffe (*Fig. 1*) für das Victoria und Albert Museum erwerben konnte, machte zuerst wieder auf die engen Beziehungen zum sasanidischen Textilornament aufmerksam, die auf dem genannten Stück sehr deutlich in die Erscheinung treten und sowohl für die Gliederung wie für die Einzelformen, besonders für den Tierstil gelten. Die Gliederung ist hier die gleiche wie auf dem bekannten spätsasanidischen Seidenstoff im Berliner Schlossmuseum mit gegenständigen königlichen Reitern neben einem Lebensbaum inmitten von wilden Tieren und Jagdwild. Die Kreisperipherie besteht aus einer Folge kleiner Medaillons, die mit den auch von sasanidischen Stuckfliesen bekannten kauern den Widdern gefüllt sind. Auf dem seldjükenischen Stoff sind die grossen Kreise in gleicher Weise aufgeteilt. Man sieht hier in den kleinen Kreismedaillons, die an sasanidische Siegelbilder erinnern,⁴ zahlreiche Tierformen wie Hähne, Perlhühner und Greifen, die dem Stil nach den sasanidischen Gebilden so nahe stehen, dass man den Seidenstoff an den Anfang der seldjükenischen Epoche setzen darf (Anfang des XI Jahrh.). Während auch die Struktur der Zwickellösung in Gestalt eines mit Rebhühnern gefüllten Sechsecks, dem Grundsatz nach an die entsprechende Lösung auf

¹ *Kunstwanderer*, März 1931; *Burlington Magazine*, December 1930, pp. 284 ff.; L. Ashton, January 1931; *Belvedere*, März 1931, pp. 81 ff.; A. U. Pope, *Introduction to Persian Art*, London, 1931, Fig. 69.

² Ganymedmotiv: E. Herzfeld, *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1920, Bd. 41, pp. 132 ff.

Seldjükenischer Stoff: *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Persian Art*, London, 1931, Nr. 39, K. L.

³ A. J. B. Wace, *The Times*, 5. January 1931.

⁴ O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1913, Fig. 107.

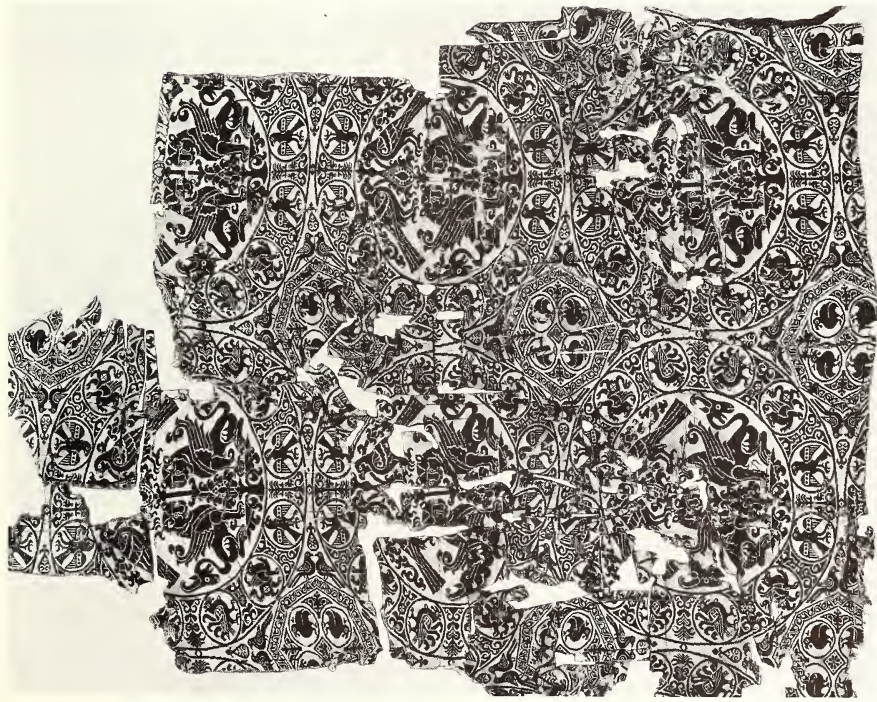


FIG. 1—SELDJÜKISCHER SEIDENSTOFF, PERSIEN, XI JAHRH.
LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM



FIG. 2—SELDJÜKISCHER SEIDENSTOFF, PERSIEN, XI JAHRH., PRIVATBESITZ

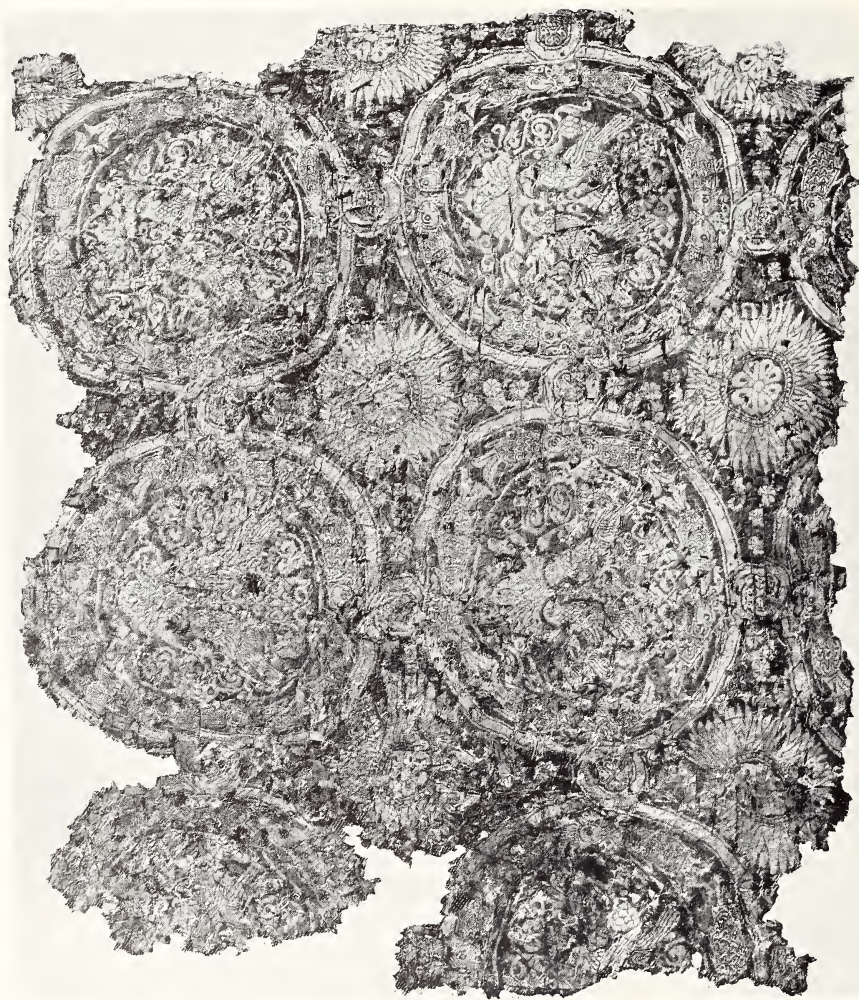


FIG. 3.—SEIDTUKISCHER SEIDENSTOFF, PERSIEN, XII JAHRH., WASHINGTON
TEXTILE MUSEUM OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

einem frühislamischen Seidenstoff im British Museum erinnert mit Vierpässen und Enten in den Zwickeln, lässt die Gliederung mit Hilfe des Flechtbandes neue schöpferische Kräfte erkennen. Deutlicher tritt das Flechtband in die Erscheinung auf einem Seidenfragment im Besitz von Frau Bliss, New York (*Fig. 2*). Flechtbänder mit diesen gliedernden Eigenschaften fehlen bisher in der spätsasanidischen Ornamentik fast ganz, obwohl sie im spätantiken Ornament besonders in den Mosaikfussböden zu den bevorzugten Gliederungssystemen gehörten. Sie sind dagegen im frühislamischen Dekorationsstil geläufig, den wir von Ktesiphon (hier besonders ausgeprägt, vgl. Salmān Pāk, *Deutsche Ktesiphon Expedition 1928/29*), Sāmarrā, Nāyīn, Alt-Kairo und aus Ḥīra kennen.⁵ Diese Wiederaufnahme des Flechtbandes ist offenbar eine allgemeine Erscheinung gewesen, die man im VI–VIII Jahrh. in vielen Monumenten auf dem Boden des ehemaligen römischen Reichs- und Kolonialgebiets findet, und die eine seltsame Uebereinstimmung in der Auslese der Antiken Formen und die daran anschliessenden Neuorientierung bedeutet.

Dass das Flechtband in der Textilkunst in dem Stilwandel, der über die alten alexandrinischen und sasanidischen Kreis- und Coronamuster hinausführte,⁶ wieder auftaucht, zeigt, dass das Gliederungsproblem als ein Problem der Bewegung aufgefasst wird. Ausserdem scheinen gewisse Eigentümlichkeiten kristallinen und vegetabilischen Wachstums in der ornamentalen Gliederung Gestalt zu gewinnen. Das eine führte im Ornamentstil der frühen Seldjükenzeit zu kassettenartigen Gliederungen, die von Holzarbeiten bekannt sind, die aber auch in den Dekorationsstil der Architektur (Baukeramik und Stuck) und die Gefässkeramik eindrangten. Besonders aber trugen diese Tendenzen in der Gliederung der Textilmuster zur Verdrängung des früher vorherrschenden Kreisschemas wesentlich bei.⁷ Das andere, die Vegetabilisierung ornamental Gebilde, die selbst ursprünglich keine Pflanzenformen waren, hatte schon in spätsasanidischer Zeit wohl unter wesentlichen Anregungen durch die indische Kunst eingesetzt und erstreckte sich auf Tiere, sowie anorganische und geometrische Gebilde. Diesen Stilwandel zur Zeit der Seldjükenherrschaft in Persien können zwei Seidenstoffe des Textilmuseums des Distrikts von Columbia (U.S.A.) besonders deutlich vor Augen führen. Das erste Stück (*Fig. 3*) ein schwarzer Seidenstoff (T.O. 384, kombinierte Leinenbindung, umkehrbar, Grösse 45 x 50 cm.), mit gelber Zeichnung, stellt gegenständige Falken auf Spiralranken neben Lebensbäumen dar in Kreisen, deren Einfassung aus einer Borte von einander zugekehrten vier Fischpaaren besteht. Die Kreise sind nach aussen von einem breiten Band gesäumt und untereinander durch kleine Kreise gekuppelt, so dass der Eindruck eines kontinuierlichen Bandsystems entsteht. In den Zwickeln sieht man grosse strahlenförmige Rosetten mit Herzblüten in der Mitte und auf dem Grund sind kleine Herz-

⁵ Der Stoff im British Museum ist in J. Strzygowski, *Asiens bildende Kunst*, Augsburg, 1929, Fig. 82 und danach *Burlington Magazine*, Dezember, 1930 falsch wiedergegeben, doch gibt die Abbildung von der Zwickellösung eine Vorstellung. Vgl. Flechtband: O. Reuther, *Die Deutsche Ktesiphon-Expedition*, Berlin, 1930, Fig. 19, A. U. Pope. *op. cit.* Fig. 11, S. Flury, *Syria*, 1921,

1930. E. Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra*, Berlin, 1923.

⁶ O. von Falke, *op. cit.* Figs. 68, 70–77 (Alexandria), Figs. 96, 98–100, 128/29, 138–44 (Persien).

⁷ Die Kassettengliederung ist am folgerichtigsten durchgeführt in den Zwickeln eines seldjüken Seidenbrokats im Besitz von Rowland Read, London.

blüten als Streumuster verteilt. Man kennt diese Herzblüten von sasanidischen Textilmustern. Auch die Strahlenrosette ist als Nimbus des Gottes Mithra und als indische Lotusblüte in der sasanidischen Kunst bekannt. Man kann beide Formen auf dem Felsrelief Ardashīrs II. in Tāk-i-Büstān sehen. Auf Seidenstoffen scheint dieses Motiv in sasanidischer Zeit schon in ganz ähnlicher Form geläufig gewesen zu sein, wie das Gewand einer Anahit in Tāk-i-Büstān nahe legt, und noch deutlicher auf einer Stoffdarstellung der Wandmalereien aus Turfan in die Erscheinung tritt (Mucilinda-Höhle von Toyuk Mazar, Ost-Turkistan).⁸ Während in dem vorigen Stoff die isolierende Wirkung der Kreisformen noch sehr wesentlich den Eindruck der ornamentalen Gliederung bestimmt, wird diese in dem zweiten Stück (Fig. 4) entschieden zurückgedrängt. Es ist ein roter Seidenstoff mit blauer Zeichnung (I. 397, kombinierte Leinenbindung, Grösse: 64,6 x 30 cm.). Die Kreise bestehen hier aus einem System von Flechtbändern, das sich um ein kleineres Kreismedaillon in der Mitte gruppiert, das, wieder an sasanidische Siegel erinnernd, die Büste einer männlichen Gestalt enthält, vermutlich mit Zepter und anderen Insignien in beiden Händen. Im übrigen sieht man in den durch das Flechtband abgegrenzten kleinen Kreisfeldern Greifen, geflügelte Pferde und Vögel mit Steinbockkopf, alles Tiere, die von den sasanidischen Siegelsteinen bekannt sind und auf altorientalische Vorstellungen zurückgehen.⁹ Für unseren Zusammenhang ist besonders interessant, dass erstens die Binnenzeichnung der Flechtbandgebilde aus Wellenranken besteht (d.h., sie sind vegetabilisiert), zweitens der Kreis, dessen inneres Feld durch ein breiteres Band begrenzt wird, nach aussen nur durch eine dünne Lisene abgeschlossen ist (auf dem vorigen Stück ist das breite Band aussen), deren isolierender Charakter noch mehr zurückgedrängt wird durch die radiale Anordnung des Schriftfrieses aus blühendem Kūfi, der den Kreis nach aussen eher öffnet als abschliesst. Noch problematischer macht die Zwickellösung die Auflösung der festen Kreisgrenzen, da sich hier das wiederum radial orientierte Rosettgebilde eng an die Konturen des sphärischen Vierecks der Zwickel anschliesst und gewissermassen durch eine Art ornamentaler Adhäsion die gegenseitige Durchdringung von Kreis und Zwickel herausfordert. In den grossen Lotuspalmetten der Rosetten ist die Verquickung vegetabler und bandartiger Gebilde ebenfalls unverkennbar.

Eine Variante dieses Stoffs mit gelber Zeichnung auf türkisblauem Grund befand sich früher im Besitz von Indjoudjian, Paris.¹⁰ Das Fragment, auf dem die Einzelheiten nicht so gut erkennbar waren wie auf diesem grösseren und besser erhaltenen Stück der Sammlung

⁸ Vgl. Lotusblüte auf dem Felsrelief Ardashīrs II. in Tāk-i-Büstān, E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor Asiens*, Berlin, 1920, Pl. 29, *loc. cit.*, sasanidische Stoffmuster, Pl. 62–65, Figs. 42–43. Gewand der Anahit mit indischen Lotusblüten und Wandmalerei aus Turfan, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 65. Ähnliche Lotusblütenrosetten kamen unter den Stuckfunden der 2. Kampagne der Ktesiphon-Expedition, 1931/32 zum Vorschein. Fische: Persisch-mongolischer Goldbrokat aus dem Grab des Cangrande in Verona, G. Sangiorgi, "Le stoffe e le vesti tombali di Cangrande della Scala," *Bol-*

letino d'Arte, Aprile 1922, Fig. 4.

⁹ Sasanidische Flügelpferde und Greifen: vgl. O. von Falke, *op. cit.*, Figs. 49, 105, 107 (Auf Fig. 105 hat der Greif einen Pferdekopf) Unter den sasanidischen Siegelsteinen der Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, befindet sich ein Stück mit einem pferdeköpfigen Vogel (V.A. 1515).

¹⁰ R. Koehlin, G. Migeon, *Islamische Kunstwerke*, Berlin, 1925, Pl. 62.

G. H. Myers, galt als ägyptisch oder persisch. Obwohl in Ägypten sasanidische Motive auch Eingang fanden, traten sie nicht so unmittelbar in die Erscheinung wie auf diesem Seidenstoff und man wird bei der Frage nach der Herkunft nur an Persien selbst denken dürfen.

Wenn die oben wiederholt zum Vergleich herangezogenen Felsmonumente von Tāḡ-i-Büstān, deren Stoffmuster für die Erkenntnis der sasanidischen Textilformen die grösste Bedeutung haben, für die landschaftliche Einordnung auch keine bindenden Schlüsse zulassen, so wird man doch besonders bei solchen Stücken wie dem eingangs besprochenen Stoff im Victoria und Albert Museum, der die sasanidischen Anregungen in der grössten Unmittelbarkeit erkennen lässt, an die Entstehung in den alten persischen Provinzen in Zentral- und Westpersien denken dürfen. Die gleiche Unmittelbarkeit sasanidischer Anregungen spricht auch aus den beiden anderen Seidenstoffen. Der eine steht (schon der Färbung und Textur nach) dem genannten Stoff im Victoria und Albert Museum so nahe, dass man, wenn auch nicht an die gleiche Werkstatt, so doch an die gleiche Landschaft denken darf. Auch der andere hat nicht unwesentliche stilistische Merkmale mit dem zum Vergleich herangezogenen Stück gemein. Diese letzten beiden Stoffe sind natürlich später entstanden. Man mag in der zeitlichen Einordnung zwischen der mittleren und späten Seldjūkenzeit schwanken, beide Stücke gehören schon ins XII. Jahrh. Vielleicht darf man bei dem ersten an die zweite Hälfte, bei dem zweiten an das Ende des XII., oder an den Anfang des XIII. Jahrh. denken. Sie sind jedenfalls wertvolle Dokumente für das Weiterleben der sasanidischen Tradition in dieser für die persische Kunst- und Geistesgeschichte so bedeutsamen Zeit, die eine Art Renaissance und Humanismus bedeutete und Jahrhunderte vor der entsprechenden abendländischen Bewegung die schöpferischen Bindungen mit der Antike und dem alten Orient im höchsten Sinne fruchtbar machten.

Als in Italien am Ende des Mittelalters durch die Anregungen der chinesischen Seidenweberei die freie Textilgliederung sich längst durchgesetzt hatte, tauchten daneben gelegentlich wieder Gebilde auf, die, wie ein grauer Damast des Berliner Schlossmuseums mit seinen gegenständigen Adlern neben Lebensbäumen in einer Kassettengliederung aus Flechtbandgebilden zeigt, sehr stark an den Seidenstil erinnern, der vom seldjūkischen Persien aus in der Textilkunst anderer Länder Eingang fand. Auch wenn wir mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen dürfen, dass die unmittelbaren islamischen Anregungen, besonders für die ornamentale Gliederung in diesem Fall aus dem mamlūkischen Ägypten stammen, wo wir für die Band- und Kassettengliederung in dieser Zeit in der Textilkunst sprechendere Zeugnisse haben als in Persien selbst, wird man doch dem Tatbestand einige Bedeutung beimessen müssen, dass die Darstellung gegenständiger Adler oder Falken auf gesprengten Palmetten neben üppigen Lebensbäumen nirgends so ausgeprägte Gestalt gewonnen hat, als in Persien, so dass selbst die indirekten Verbindungen noch bedeutsam genug für die Erklärung der Zusammenhänge sind, die in der italienischen Kunst ja nicht vereinzelt dastehen.¹¹ Der

¹¹ Schlossmuseum, Berlin: 75, 279; Grösse 51:25 cm., Grund: geköpert, Zeichnung: Schussatlas, Rapport: 24 cm. Textilmuster Jacopo Bellinis vgl. O. von Falke, *op.*

cit., Fig. 484, und Pisanellos: Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Nr. 485, 486.

Stoff gehört wahrscheinlich in das XIV. oder an den Anfang des XV. Jahrhunderts als das Eindringen mamlükischer Motive neben den chinesischen und persischen in der italienischen Textilkunst deutlicher in die Erscheinung trat. Alle fremden Elemente sind allerdings schon im Sinne des italienischen Textilornaments der Frührenaissance durchgebildet, etwa im Sinne der Textilformen der Musterentwürfe des Jacopo Bellini, und das Ganze ist durchaus als selbstständige schöpferische Leistung der italienischen Renaissanceornamentik zu werten. Die persischen Anregungen wirken hier schon gewissermassen aus der Tradition der italienischen Textilkunst. Um so besser ist die indirekte Verbindung mit dem seldjükischen Persien zu erklären (*Fig. 5*).

Auf ähnlich indirekte Weise lebten ja auch in der abendländischen Dichtung die zum Teil von den Kreuzfahrern und Pilgern übermittelten orientalischen Anregungen selbsttätig fort. Es sei nur an die Eschatalogie Dantes erinnert, die angeblich zu den entsprechenden Ideen des blinden 'abbäsidschen Dichters Abū'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri enge Beziehungen erkennen läßt. Man suche weder hier noch dort irgendwelche formalen oder inhaltlichen Zwischenglieder um den schöpferischen Transformationsprozess nach biogenetischen Analogien zu erklären. Gerade in der lebendigen Ornamentik tauchen Formen, die man seit Jahrhunderten verloren glaubte, wieder plötzlich mit aller Unmittelbarkeit auf den Plan, sei es, dass die Tradition sie latent aufgespeichert hat, oder das morphologische Gedächtnis auf diesem Gebiet besonders wach erhalten wird. Das italienische Ornament ist reich an solchen Erscheinungen von den vorromanischen Mauerinkrustationen in Stein und Stuck bis zu den Mustern der Stoffe der Früh-Renaissance.

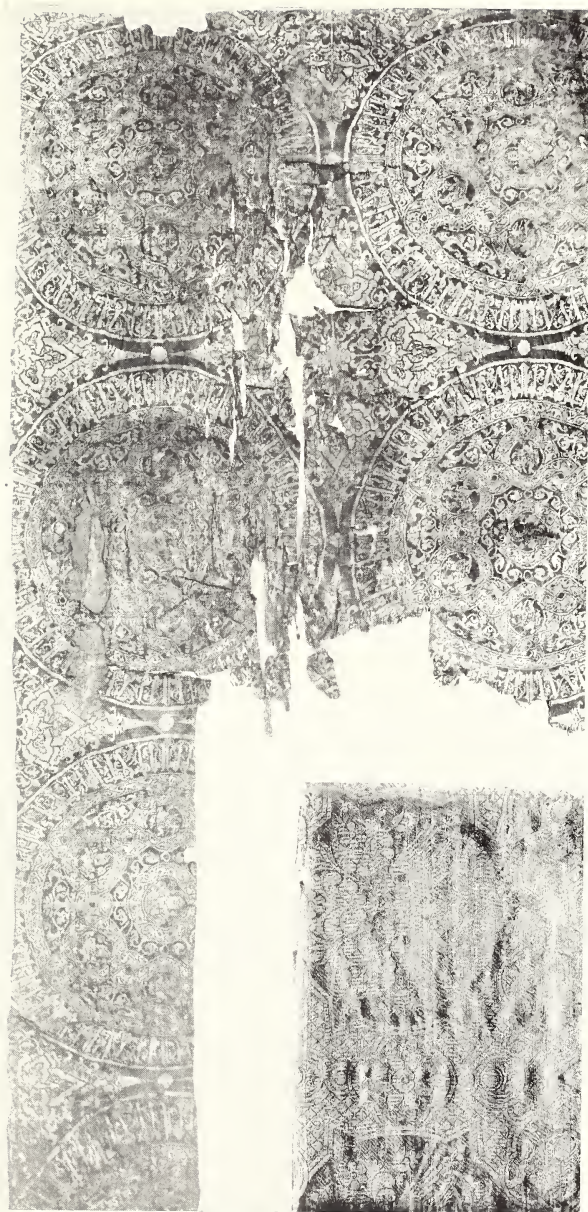


FIG. 4—SELDJUKISCHER SEIDENSTOFF. PERSIEN, XII-XIII JAHRH.
WASHINGTON, TEXTILE MUSEUM OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FIG. 5—ITALIENISCHER DAMAST. XIV-XV JAHRH.
BERLIN, SCHLOSSMUSEUM



FIG. 1.—LWÓW, ARMENIAN CATHEDRAL, DECORATION
OF ARCH, XIV CENTURY



FIG. 2.—LWÓW, ARMENIAN CATHEDRAL, DECORATION
OF PILLAR, XIV CENTURY

INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC ART IN POLAND

BY TADEUSZ MANKOWSKI

ALMOST FROM THE BEGINNING OF HER EXISTENCE AS A STATE AND THE INTRODUCTION OF Christianity, Poland had become the territory of expansion of Western culture. In the earliest period these influences were carried from Northern France, Germany and Italy. They expressed themselves in the Roman architecture and later on in the Gothic. Poland's mediaeval, as well as modern culture has been Western, her historical messengership was always to bear Western culture to the Near East, and she fulfilled her task perseveringly, especially since her territorial expansion in the East at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. On the other hand however, and just for that same reason, Poland became the territory where East and West met, where their cultural and artistic influences came into touch and intermingled very often creating new, mediate forms of an interesting and peculiar kind.

The East expressed itself on Polish soil partly by Russo-byzantine influence in art, partly by influences coming from the southeastern countries where Islam had become master since the end of the Middle Ages. However, these Eastern elements never influenced Polish art in a decided manner. It remained fundamentally Western.

The influence of Islamic art in Poland was not a direct one. It was carried there through the medium of the animated commerce between Poland, above all between the Polish southeastern border-towns of Lwów and Kamieniec Podolski, and the Genoese colonies on the Black sea, especially Kaffa in Crimea, the richest and most powerful of them. In this way, they first came to Lwów and Kamieniec Podolski and thence spread over the whole country, above all by means of the costly tissues of which mention is very often made in the acts of the city of Lwów. Another mediating factor between Poland and the Islamic countries was the Armenian colonists who had settled in Lwów as early as the thirteenth century.¹ These colonists, most of which had settled in Lwów remained in contact with their Asiatic home from where they imported a great deal of Turkish and Persian ware into Poland. The Greek settlers in Poland played a much less important part in the trade with the East.

It was however, not only Oriental ware, tissues and arms that the Armenians and Greeks brought to Poland. Armenian architects, stonecutters and sculptors arrived via Lwów. Here, as well as in Kamieniec Podolski they built churches for their cult towards the middle of the fourteenth century, in the characteristic style of the ancient Armenian architecture, but they used a decoration borrowed from Islamic art. After the conquest of Armenia by the Turks and Persians, the Armenian stonecutters and sculptors who worked for their new masters and adapted themselves to their taste, assimilated the Seldjûk and late Turkish ornamental artistic forms which they used in their decorations. In the Armenian cathedral in Lwów,

¹ T. Mańkowski, *The Art of Armenians in Lwów*, Cracov, 1934. (Published in Polish).

which was finished in 1363, there are bas-reliefs carved in stone and preserved down to our days, the prototype of which is to be looked for in the mosques and madrasas of Konya and Bursa in Asia Minor. Such is a bas-relief ornament running in a double band above the rainbow arch of the middle apsis (*Fig. 1*). The lower of these bands is made of linked trefoils turned upside down, the upper one is an interlaced broken ornament running uninterruptedly. This latter is considered to be a typical Seldjûk motif of decoration² while the above mentioned trefoil motif is Persian, borrowed by Seldjûk architecture from the Persians. Both are often to be met with in the old architectural monuments of Konya.³ The cornice (*Fig. 7*) made in the so-called stalactite type, which divides the principal aisle of the cathedral from the lateral ones is generally to be met with in the old art of the Islamic countries. The ornament carved in stone of the pillars (*Fig. 2*) which divide the middle apsis of the Armenian cathedral from the side apses is made of long sticks or scrolls intersecting each other and broken at certain distances and is a motif of the Islamic decorative art; such is the ornament of the portal of Armenian archbishops' palace⁴ (*Fig. 4*). The ornament of another old house in Lwów is of a somewhat different type (*Fig. 5*). However it is not only the plastic decoration of the Armenian cathedral and of some houses in Lwów which show distinct traces of the influence of Islamic art. In the vaults of the cathedral which are built according to the old rules of Armenian architecture we find the forms of an arch, called "ass' back" (*Figs. 2 and 8*) as well as that of the Persian arch (*Figs. 3 and 8*) which are both characteristic of Islamic architecture. Those who used these forms on Polish soil were Armenian builders and stone-carvers. Further traces of the influence of Islamic art, especially as to architectural decoration, may be seen in other monuments of the southeastern borders of the old Polish kingdom, in the cities of Jazłowiec and Kamieniec Podolski. Analogous traces exist outside the frontiers of ancient Poland on the territories of the former dukedom of Moldavia in Rumania of to-day.

Rumanian scholars⁵ have long since come to the conviction that their country owes these monuments to the numerous craftsmen, sculptors and stone-carvers with Lwów for artistic centre, from where they carried their art over the southeastern frontiers of Poland, and spread it over the neighbouring territory of Moldavia. Among the builders and stone-carvers of the era between the fifteenth and seventeenth century preponderated those who often used Gothic forms which were then already to a certain degree anachronisms. On the other hand however there was no lack of Armenian craftsmen who spread forms of architectural decoration and ornament proper to Islamic art. All this forms together an original

² H. Wilde, *Brussa, eine Entwickelungsstätte türkischer Architektur in Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1909, Figs. 30, 55.

³ F. Sarre, *Konia, seldschukische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin, O.J.; W. Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*, Leipzig, 1913, Figs. 4, 49.

⁴ L. Parvillée, *Architecture et décoration turques au XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1874, Pls. 18, 19, 20; Prisse d'Avesnes,

La décoration arabe, Paris, 1885, Pl. 60.

⁵ N. Jorga, "L'inter-pénétration de l'Orient et de l'Occident au moyen-âge," *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la Section Historique*, XV, Bucarest, 1929; G. Bals, "Influence de l'art gothique sur l'architecture roumaine," *Ibid.*, XV.; N. Jorga et G. Bals, *Histoire de l'art roumain*, Paris, 1922.

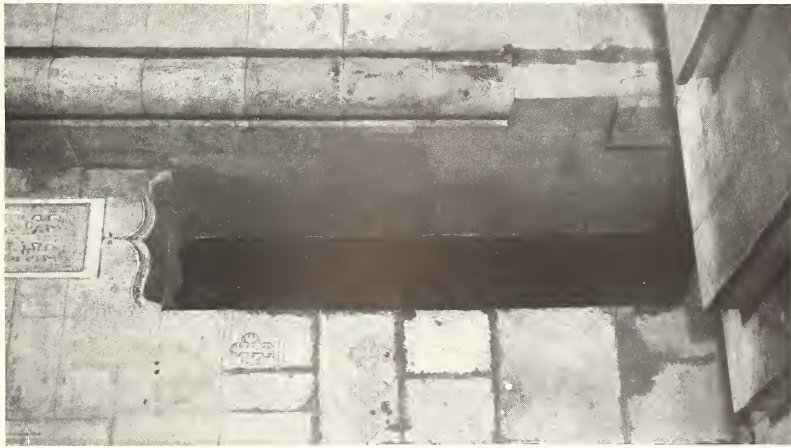


FIG. 3—LWÓW, ARMENIAN CATHEDRAL, PASSAGE IN PILLAR
OF APSIS, XIV CENTURY



FIG. 4—LWÓW, ARMENIAN ARCHBISHOPS' HOUSE, PORTAL

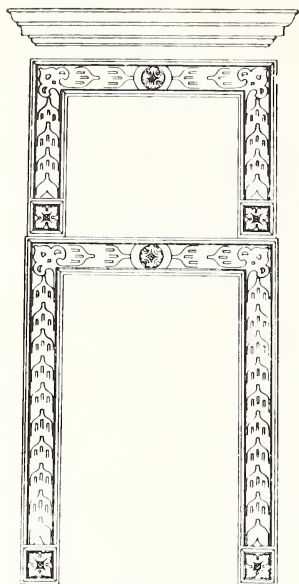


FIG. 5—LWÓW, PORTAL OF A HOUSE

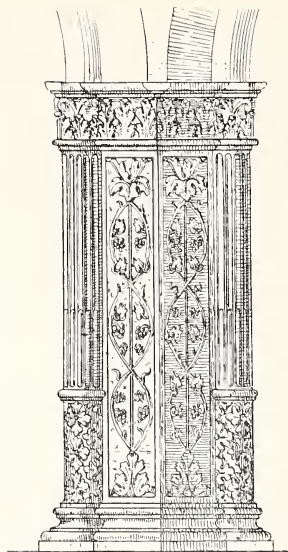


FIG. 6—LWÓW, BENEDICTINE NUNS' CONVENT, HALF COLUMN

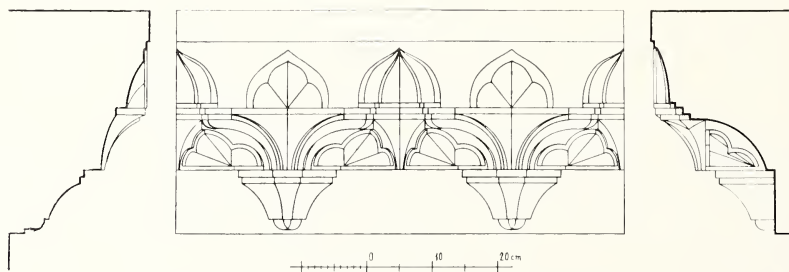
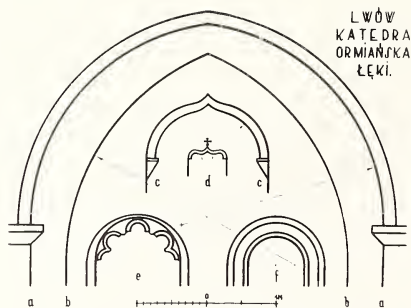


FIG. 7—LWÓW, ARMENIAN CATHEDRAL, CORNICE, XIV CENTURY



LWÓW
KATEDRA
ORMIAŃSKA
ŁĘKI.

FIG. 8—LWÓW, ARMENIAN CATHEDRAL, FORMS OF ARCHES OF THE VAULTS

whole, combining West European with Islamic art. The half column of the cross-walk in the Benedictine nuns' convent (*Fig. 6*) as well as the above mentioned portal of the Armenian archbishops' home in Lwów is an excellent illustration to this fact.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the political and commercial relations between Poland and the Islamic countries underwent a thorough change as compared to their relations in the Middle Ages. Polish trade grew and flourished when, in consequence to territorial conquests of the Turks in Europe, the frontiers of both states came nearer and even touched. When after the fall of Constantinople, Kaffa too was taken by the Turks (1475) the commercial roads necessarily changed. The Genoese carrying-trade by sea fell away, and the road by land leading to Lwów and from there through Poland to the Baltic sea, and to the North and West of Europe, gained in importance. Poland became one of the most important markets for sale of Turkish and Persian merchandise.

The so-called Oriental traders who lived on the Eastern borders of Poland, formed then a variegated ethnic group. Amongst them there were Turks, Greeks, and above all numerous Armenians. These were not only Armenians from under Turkish, but also from under Persian rule. The Persian Armenians traded mostly directly with Persia, they travelled there and brought back Eastern ware. The Polish kings willingly made use of the Armenians living in Lwów and sent them to *Işfahān* and *Kāshān* and other Persian places of the seventeenth century famous for their manufacture of certain kinds of tissues, to the purpose of ordering rugs woven in silk and gold thread and to oversee their execution, or to order costly arms, tents, etc. It was especially king Zygmunt III⁶ and lastly king August III who made use of their services, king Stefan Batory and king Władysław IV sent their trusted Armenian merchants to the same end to Turkey and king Jan Sobieski to Crimea for objects of artistic industry.

The inventories of goods of the Polish merchants, especially those from the seventeenth century enumerate a great number of Persian rugs, particularly those which are distinctly booked as made of silk interwoven with gold thread. These are the Persian rugs of the so-called Polish type. In just the same way, the inventories made of inheritances after deceased members of noble families very often mention such rugs. In a law-suit for instance between two Armenian merchants of Lwów, Jan Wartarysiewicz and Luke Seferowicz, the object of the suit formed twenty-four Persian rugs interwoven with gold. Twelve of them were of large dimensions, while the other twelve were smaller in size; they represented together a value of 15,000 Polish florins—an enormous sum for those times—this estimation has been made by the court. The inventory of the inheritance left by prince Ostrogski after his death in 1616 enumerates, among other objects of luxury in Dubno castle, several chests full of rugs; each of these chests contained also some silk rugs interwoven with gold. I have mentioned these facts as an instance and there are many others of that kind to be found in the Polish archives.

⁶ *The Relation by Sefer Muratowicz of His Travels in Persia Sent There by King Zygmunt III*, Warsaw,

1777. (Edited in Polish).

Among the Persian rugs in Poland, there were many showing the coat of arms of some Polish family woven into the tissue itself; they were without any doubt executed in the weaving-shops of Persia, or the Turkish countries after designs supplied from Poland.

To these rugs belongs the Polish tapestry No. 366 in the Textile Museum of Washington, D.C., with the coat of arms "Nieczuja." It has doubtlessly been executed in Persia at the order of some Polish buyer. I do not speak here of the rugs of the so-called Polish type, on which the coat of arms has been embroidered later on, and which are also to be seen in museums and collections.

We wish to mention here the weaving-workshops called into life in Brody by the great hetman of the crown Stanisław Koniecpolski, as they are an excellent illustration to the struggles of the influences of Islamic art in Poland. About 1643, the hetman called celebrated Flemish weavers from Flanders to Brody.⁷ His aim was to make them weave silk and woollen tissues which were to equal their Italian models. However, as there arose difficulties in the import of raw thread from Italy and Spain, he turned his attention to the East. He entered into communication with the Turkish countries and imported not only raw material but also sent for weavers. These were mostly Greeks from Corfu, such as Manuel Korfiński, so called from the place of his origin, Constance Stamowski and many others. In place of tissues of Italian type, the workshops of Brody produced since then tissues, rugs, makats, etc., after Persian models, *ac si in ipsa Perside* (as if made in Persia itself), as the chronicler says.⁸ Manuel Korfiński, the Greek from under Turkish rule opened also in Lwów weaving-shops which produced gold brocades after models of the brocades made in the East. In these workshops, Manuel trained numerous pupils from among the citizens.⁹

In the middle of the seventeenth century, Lwów declared itself decidedly in favour of Eastern artistic industry, so that the biggest stores of Italian tissues belonging to Philippo Ducci went bankrupt in 1649. The Italian tissues were replaced by Eastern ones which Lwów exported farther to the West and all over Poland.

It is from these days that date the rugs we see in the different museums. They show decorative motifs taken from Islamic art but they are without any doubt made in Poland. They differ from Eastern rugs above all by the material they are made of. Natural undyed sheep-wool is used for the ground, and it is of a different type from the wool in Eastern rugs. Among the colours of the carpets, cold tones of different shades, blue and green predominate, there are rarely warm red hues. Very often two colours only are combined in the carpet, cream and black undyed sheep-wool. Sometimes there are linen threads in the warp.

The imitation of Islamic and mostly of Persian art in these rugs, never goes so far that the trained eye of a connoisseur of to-day might not be able to distinguish them from genuine rugs. The style of ornament as a whole is always somewhat independent of its Eastern prototypes.

⁷ G. Zeltner, *Historia Crypto-Socinismi*, Leipzig, 1729, p. 234.

⁸ J. Pastorius ab Hirtenberg, *Historiae Polonae pars prior*, Dantisci, 1680, p. 162.

⁹ S. Zyznowski, *Cursus gloriae Illustr. ac Excell. A. Alexandri Koniecpolski Palatini Sandomiriensis. S.R.I. principis etc.*, Cracoviae, 1659.

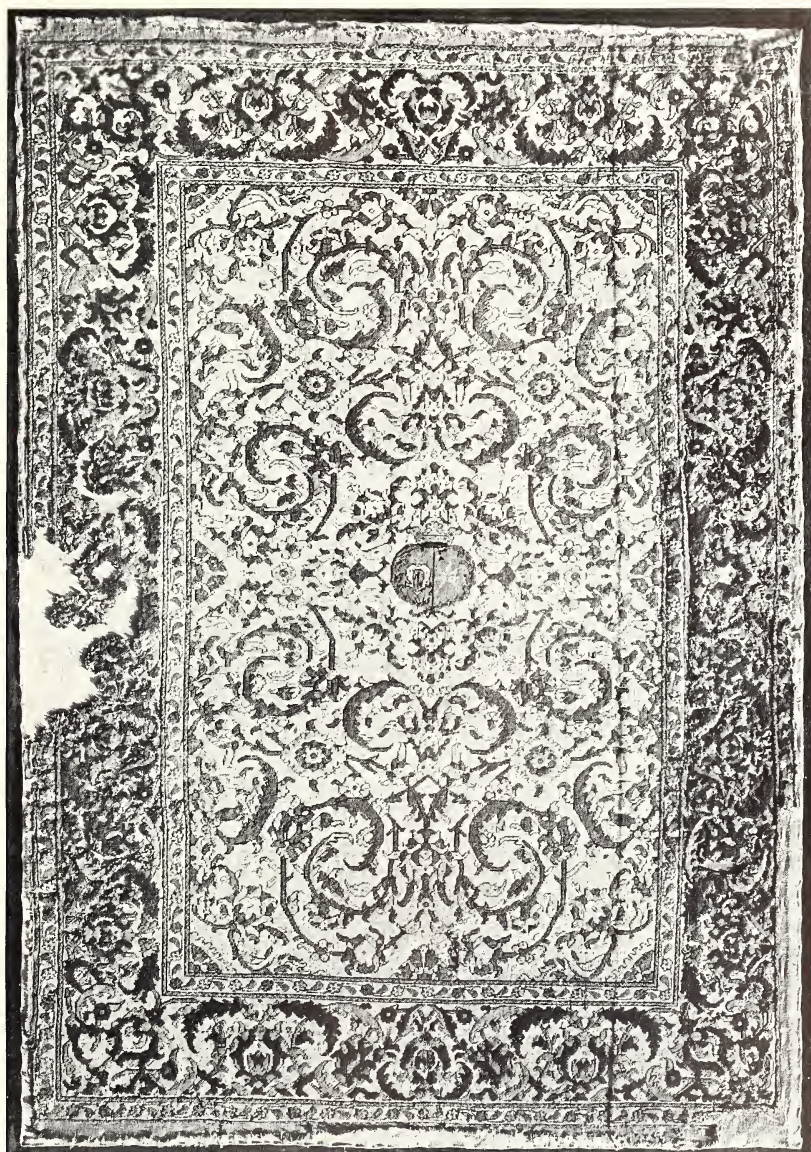


FIG. 9.—CARPET WITH COAT OF ARMS OF THE KRETKOWSKI AND GULDENZTERN FAMILIES
XVII CENTURY, MUNICH, BAVARIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 10—CARPET, PROBABLY MADE IN KONIECPOLSKI'S FACTORY IN BRODY
XVII CENTURY, LWÓW, ART-INDUSTRY MUSEUM



FIG. 11—WOOLLEN CARPET, XVIII CENTURY, TARŃÓW
DIOCESAN MUSEUM



FIG. 12—CARPET WITH COAT OF ARMS OF THE SIERAKOWSKI FAMILY, XVIII CENTURY
GOLUCHOW, CZARTORYSKI CASTLE



FIG. 13—WOOLLEN CARPET, XVIII CENTURY, CRACOW, NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 14—CARPET WITH COAT OF ARMS OF THE POTOCKI FAMILY, XVIII CENTURY
LANCUT, POTOCKI CASTLE

In the Bayrisches National Museum in Munich there is one rug, Inv. No. 1612¹⁰ (*Fig. 9*), which bears the coat of arms of two noble Polish families, the Kretkowskis and Guldenszterns. They belong to those rugs which come nearest to their Persian models. The coats of arms indicate the time of their weaving as about 1665. A pile carpet imitating Persian designs but of a different type with a light ground of undyed wool is to be seen in the Museum of Artistic Industry in Lwów (*Fig. 10*). It is perhaps of a still earlier origin than those in the Munich Museum; and may be numbered among the rugs made by the weaving-loomers of Brody during Koniecpolski's lifetime.

A proof of the evolution these rugs underwent is given us by a rug in the Diocesan Museum in Tarnów (*Fig. 11*). It was probably made as late as the eighteenth century in the style of Persian vase carpets; but how very far it is from its Persian model, and how much more primitive. The blossoming trees of the Persian carpet have been transmuted into the scheme of some fir trees, drawn as if by a childish hand. Other ornamental motifs had been treated in the same manner, but in spite of its low artistic standards, this rug is characteristic of the Polish textile industry and seems to combine elements of folk art with the imitation of eastern designs.

Another rug in the collection of Gołuchów (*Fig. 12*) castle shows two mihrābs placed against each other. The coat of arms in its middle indicates that it was made for a member of the noble Sierakowski family. A pair of black and white carpets, one of which belongs to the National Museum in Cracow (*Fig. 13*) while the other is in the Museum of Artistic Industry in Lwów, combine decorative motifs taken from Islamic art with motifs of the Far East. The woof of these two rugs is made of linen thread.

In the different Polish collections there are several rugs of analogous type bearing very often the coats of arms of the Potockis and Mniszechs in their middle. They help to define the time of their origin which is the first half of the eighteenth century. The place they come from is Brody. We give here the picture of a rug which belongs to the castle of the Potockis in Łańcut (*Fig. 14*). The ornament in this type of rug leans on Eastern models, perhaps 'Ushāk(?) but it has been executed rather independently.

We have mentioned here several Polish rugs from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as an example of the influence of Islamic art. Their artistic standard is in general not very high when compared to their original Eastern models, but taken together, they form a characteristic whole, combining elements of Eastern and Western decoration. Polish textile industry based on Eastern models was to attain a much higher standard in another department, i.e. in the silk scarfs which were very often interwoven with gold and silver.

It was on the southeastern borders of Poland that a type of the so-called Polish scarfs which made an indispensable part of the Polish nobleman's dress, was created. The style of that dress became fixed in the eighteenth century, and in the parade suit of the nobles as well as in the scarf predominated decorative elements taken from Persian art.

¹⁰ K. Stepowska, "The Polish Woollen Rugs," *Report of the Commission of the History of Art*, Vol. VIII,

Cracov, 1912. (In Polish).

The fashion began when certain Armenian merchants imported into Poland a larger number of Eastern scarfs from the Islamic countries and Persia. These scarfs must have been in great demand, for very soon special weaving-workshops were opened in the East and particularly in Istanbul. These workshops produced nothing but scarfs destined for export to Poland. They belonged to a certain Piotrowicz, a Mikonowicz and some more; all were Polish Armenians as the end syllable of their names in "icz" indicates. They all made scarfs of one and the same type, called in Poland Istanbul scarfs, and they marked them in French with their name and "Constantinople" added to it. In the first half of the eighteenth century the merchants of Lwów imported a great many scarfs into that town from where they were sold all over Poland. In the commercial registers of Lwów these scarfs are booked as "scarfs from Bagdād, Işfahān, Angora, Aleppo" and so on.¹¹ Trade in Eastern scarfs grew so extensively that some Polish merchants such as the two Nikorowicz, thought it necessary to open branch offices of their firm in Istanbul. On the other hand the high scale of that trade in scarfs induced some of their Istanbul producers to transfer their weaving looms to Poland. The metal presses which were to give the material a particular gleam, were brought with great difficulty over the well-guarded Turkish frontier and weaving workshops which produced silk scarfs interwoven with gold and silver were opened in Polish towns: Stanisławów, Brody, Lwów, Buczacz, Olesko, etc. It was only later, i.e. in the second half of that century that the manufacture of Polish scarfs spread over other parts of the country and that weaving-factories were built in Sluck, Grodno, Lipkow and Cracov, etc., etc.

The Polish scarfs which are, so to say, a further and immediate development of the ornaments used in Eastern and particularly in Persian scarfs imitated with preference certain decorative Persian motifs. To these belonged foremost the ground of the middle part of the scarf, which was divided into alternating stripes, one of which showed a floral ornament while the other was of a more geometrical design. The two ends of the Polish scarf generally had only two corresponding ornaments of the same design, very seldom three, while the Eastern scarfs which were larger than the Polish ones, showed three to seven ornaments. The Polish looms, mostly used for the two ends of the scarf the carnation-motif, taken from Eastern scarfs and called in Poland by its Turkish name of "*carumfil*." The design of the flowers as well as that of the leaves very often showed a dark outline. The Polish scarfs are generally of smaller dimensions than the Eastern ones. In the combining of colours we remark a tendency of intensifying them and of enlarging the scale of their tones.

The nomenclature used in the Polish weavingshops in regard to scarfs is very rich in expressions taken from Turkish and Persian languages. We owe the preservation of these names which have now become obsolete, to the invoices of the Polish merchants dealing in scarfs and their list gives an interesting picture of Eastern linguistic influence on the Polish tongue of those times.

¹¹ T. Mańkowski, "Les ceintures orientales et les ceintures polonaises," *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences et des Lettres*, Cracovie, 1933.



FIG. 15—POLISH SCARF. XVIII CENTURY. LWÓW. ART-INDUSTRY MUSEUM



FIG. 16—POLISH SCARF, FACTORY OF JAKUBOWICZ, XVIII CENTURY, LWÓW
KING SOBIESKI MUSEUM



FIG. 17—POLISH SCARF, FACTORY IN SLUCK, XVIII CENTURY
CRACOW, NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 18—POLISH SCARF, FACTORY OF JAKUBOWICZ, XVIII CENTURY,
WARSAW, STATE COLLECTION



FIG. 30—POLISH SCARF, FACTORY OF MASLOWSKI IN CRACOW, XVIII CENTURY



FIG. 19—POLISH SCARF, FACTORY IN SAUCK, XVIII CENTURY



FIG. 22.—POLISH SCARF, XVIII CENTURY
LWOW, PRINCE LUBOMIRSKI MUSEUM



FIG. 21.—POLISH SCARF, XVIII CENTURY
CRACOW, ART-INDUSTRY MUSEUM



FIG. 23—FRAGMENT OF TENT, XVIII CENTURY
PODHORCE, SANGUSZKI CASTLE

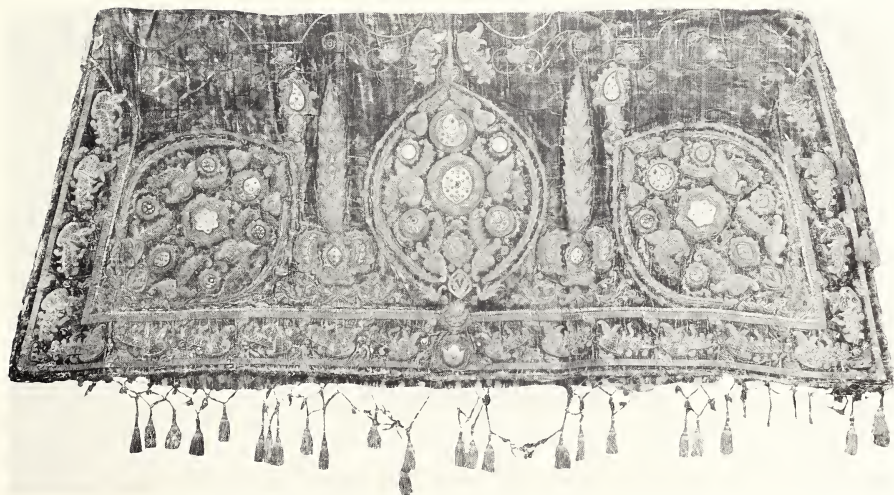


FIG. 24—EMBROIDERED SHABRACK, XVII CENTURY, CRACOW, NATIONAL MUSEUM



FIG. 25—GILDED CARTRIDGE BOX, XVII CENTURY, LWÓW, KING SOBIESKI MUSEUM



DETAIL OF BOX SHOWN IN FIG. 25

The scarfs made in Poland soon got the better of the Eastern ones, and in a short time ousted them completely from Polish trade. An especially high artistic standard was attained by the factories of Selimand, Paschalis-Jakubowicz in Kobyłki (*Figs. 15, 16 and 18*), as well as by those of Tyzenhaus in Grodno, of the princes of Radziwiłł in Sluck (*Figs. 17 and 19*) and of the Masłowskis in Cracov (*Fig. 20*) not to mention many other smaller weaving-workshops in other places. They disappeared at the end of the eighteenth century. Each factory produced its own special type of ornament, which differed from those of other looms (*Figs. 21 and 22*). However, if we take into consideration the decorative style of the Polish scarfs we are obliged to state that they are but a continuation to the characteristics of style of the Persian scarfs. As to the filiation of their style we must look for the beginning of scarf ornamentation in Persia, from where it was carried to other countries of the Islam each of which added to it certain local, mostly floral ornament. The Polish weaving-looms, which adapted the scarf to the Polish nobleman's dress, fixed certain types of ornament, but at the same time and by degrees Western European influence made itself felt. The weaving of Polish scarfs is the last and perhaps the most beautiful expression of the influence of Islamic art in Poland.

It was not only in tissues, rugs and scarfs that the influence of the Islamic art made itself felt in Poland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Eastern arms, harness, trappings and bridle-tackle for horses, various objects adorned with embroidery, in one word, all that had to do with cold steel and horses was modelled after patterns taken from Islamic art, and it was again and foremost Lwów through which the influence of artistic industry flowed into Poland.

In the course of the second half of the seventeenth century, the craftsmen of the guilds in Lwów, goldsmiths, sword-cutlers, harness-makers, saddlers, leather-cutters, lacemakers, crossbow-makers and embroiderers created in their workshops artistic objects after models of Islamic art which are known nowadays by the general name of Lwów manufacture and which comprised swords (*Figs. 26, 27 and 28*), bows, quivers, bucklers, saddles and bridles, cart-ridge-boxes (*Fig. 25*), belts, laces, sword-belts, pistol-cases, halters, hilts and brass-work for cold steel of different names, the great number of which strikes you in the Polish Museums and which is nowadays difficult for an untrained eye to distinguish from analogous Eastern products. Lwów spread this type of manufacture of Eastern character all over Poland. The goldsmiths and embroiderers gave them an artistic standard, very often of high value. Costly material, such as gold, enamel, precious stones were used in the making of these objects. Islamic decorative motifs mingle in them with elements of West European ornamental art, very often forming a whole of great peculiarity. In this artistic industry the East strongly outweighs the West (*Fig. 24*).

We can observe two stages in the development of that branch of artistic industry which is generally known in Poland as Lwów manufacture. In the first stage this Polish manufacture still imitated the forms of Islamic artistic art; it was made by craftsmen who lived on Polish territory but were of different descent. They had come from the East and were

still under the direct influence of Islamic art. Such craftsmen were the Armenians and Greeks from under Persian and Turkish rule, who had immigrated to Poland. They found very soon, however, talented pupils and imitators. The different objects of artistic industry executed by these latter after second-hand patterns lost part of their characteristics of Islamic style. These craftsmen whose eyes and hands had been accustomed to objects made in the taste of Western artistic culture, did not always possess sufficient understanding and intuitive sense for the characteristics of Eastern art, they therefore executed the objects in their own manner, adding indigenous Polish factors to which western culture had given its stamp. This may be said to be the second stage in the development of artistic industry on the southeastern borders of the Polish State. The products of industry having a mixed and mediate stamp are however the most characteristic of Polish artistic industries in the period between 1650 and 1750.

It is above all the ornamental decoration of the cold steel reproduced here which gives excellent instances of this type of artistic industry.

Poland equally took the decoration of tents from East. In 1601 king Zygmunt III sent the Armenian Sefer Muratowicz, a citizen of Lwów to Persia with instructions to order a rich tent and to supervise its execution. During their travels, the king and his court, as well as the magnates used tents of an Eastern decorative type and the fashion lasted till the second half of the eighteenth century. However, the decorative style only of technique was Eastern. It consisted in ornaments cut out from coloured silk and cloth and sewn on to the material of the tents which were executed by craftsmen settled on Polish territory, mostly by Jews from Brody and Lwów.

The last domain of Islamic art in Poland was jewellery. In this case too, the Armenians' mediation was of great weight. After settling in the cities of southeastern Poland, and especially in Lwów, they introduced the elements of Islamic art of decoration into Polish jewellery.¹²

All that has been said of the so-called manufacture of Lwów also refers to jewellery which often unites characteristics of Islamic and Western art. We do not however meet any Eastern characteristics in the Polish jewellery connected with the cult of Roman Catholic religion. In this jewellery the style is purely Western but in the departments of industry, where the influence of the Catholic faith did not reach, in articles of dress and in everything concerning arms and horses, Poland yielded to the charm of Islamic art, during a hundred years.

It is obvious that this influence did not manifest itself in all parts of Poland to the same degree. It acted strongest in the southeastern borderland of Poland from where it spread over all the territory of the State and its capital, Warsaw.

In this short article, we were only able to give a very superficial review of the domains where the influence of Islamic art made itself felt in Poland. There is still very much to be

¹² W. Łoziński, *The Jewellery of Lwów*, Lwów, 1911. (Edited in Polish).

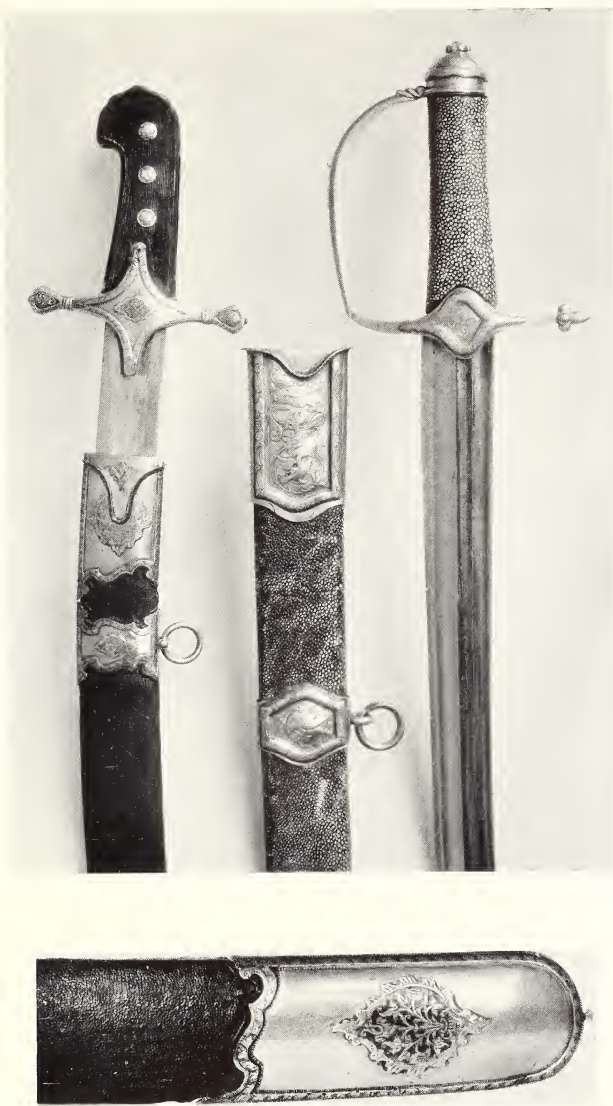


FIG. 26—POLISH SWORDS, XVII-XVIII CENTURY, CRACOW, NATIONAL MUSEUM

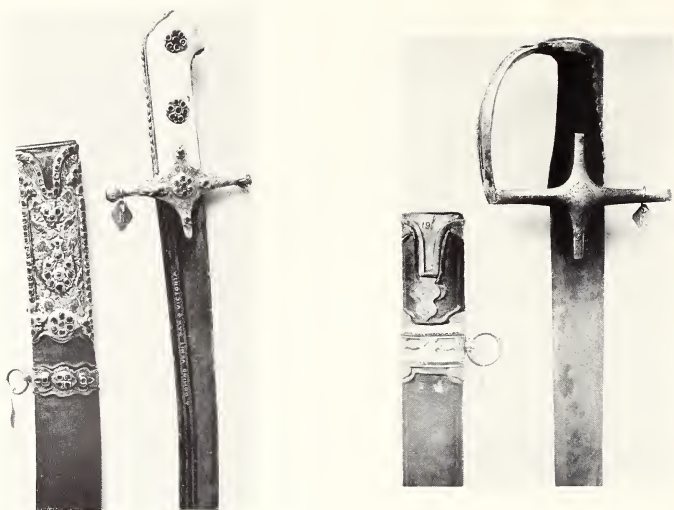


FIG. 27—POLISH SWORDS, XVII-XVIII CENTURY, LWÓW, KING SOBIESKI MUSEUM



FIG. 28—STIRRUPS AND DETAIL OF SCABBARD OF A POLISH SWORD, XVIII CENTURY
CRACOW, NATIONAL MUSEUM

said about each of these manifestations and many characteristic examples might be cited, especially from during the hundred years between 1650-1750, when those influences were at their strongest in Poland. It was only classical art propagated by the protector of fine arts on the throne, Stanislas August Poniatowski, the last Polish king, that put a stop to them.

In all these manifestations of Islamic art in Poland, we see that, except the influences in architecture which reach back to the Middle Ages, they are limited later on to artistic industry. Other artistic domains, painting and sculpture were guarded against their access by the Roman Catholic Church and its overwhelming influence. Besides, Islamic art itself did not possess the qualities which might have enabled it to take possession of painting and sculpture, and even of architecture and to compete with the West European Baroque art of those times. For this reason too, Islamic art could not have played a larger part in Poland in any other domain but that of artistic industry.

In this domain, the part of Islamic art differed from the one it played in Western Europe, where Baroque, especially decorative Baroque amply borrowed from the motifs of Islamic art. The French "turquerie" as well as the "chinoiserie," are nothing but a hunting for exoticism, without penetrating deeper into the spirit of Eastern art. The characteristics of the influence of Islamic art in Poland were very different. Polish artistic industry succumbed to its immediate charm and drew inspiration from it. There is also undoubtedly a great dose of peculiarity in the way Eastern ornaments were adapted in Poland, where they became intermingled with national decorative motifs and Western Baroque ones. The Polish scarfs are perhaps the best example of this fact. It is also very interesting how, with the exception of church art, the Baroque which reigned in Western Poland contrived to assimilate the ornamental Islamic motifs and to make them harmonize with its idea of decoration. We meet nowhere else outside of Poland this manifestation carried to such a degree.

The question arises if, in their turn, the influence of Western art reached the Islamic countries through Poland's medium, especially the countries lying on the frontiers of Poland and Turkey. This question has not as yet been dealt with by the pen of the researcher. We may only surmise, that Poland's mediation might have played a certain part in the influence of French rococo on Turkish art. Mention has been made of the painter Meĉti, a Pole, who was famous in Turkey under the name of "the painter from Scutari"¹³ at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In Persian miniature painting of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries some traces of imitation of Polish engravings might be possibly found. These mutual influences flowing from Poland to the countries of the Islam are still waiting for further investigation.

¹³ Giambattista Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesa*, Venezia, 1787, T. III, p. 49 note.

SIGNIFICANT MIHRĀBS IN THE ḤARAM AT MAŠHAD

BY DWIGHT M. DONALDSON

WHILE "A DETAILED AND ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF THE ḤARAM AND AN ACCOUNT OF ITS architectural history based on its present state cannot be given because the strict prohibition of admission to members of other faiths has prevented non-Muslim scholars from examining thoroughly and reproducing the buildings,"¹ nevertheless, the accompanying photographs (Figs. 1 and 2), which were taken recently by the official Shrine photographer, will serve to give a somewhat clearer idea of the interior of the tomb room, especially of its intricate and dexterously wrought mural decorations.

"The tomb is protected by three steel gratings, one within the other. There is a sarcophagus of wood, plated with gold, that bears the name of Shāh 'Abbās. Surrounding this is the first grating of plain steel, which is protected by a screen of copper wire to receive the gifts that are there deposited by devoted pilgrims, gifts that it is customary for the Shrine authorities to remove a few days before No-Rūz (New Year's Day) and to sell at auction. The second steel grating is ornamented with gold and jewels and has an inscription that marks it as the gift of Shāh Ḥusain Ṣafawī; and the third or outer grating, also of steel, is decorated with a delicate inscription of the whole of the Sūra *Insān* (*Ḳor'ān* lxvi). The second and third gratings each have gold knobs at the corners, and above the tomb there is a wooden roof, which is covered with gold leaf, and from beneath there are golden hanging ornaments that are also set with jewels.

"Pilgrims make their way around the tomb, starting at the point to the South which is described as 'before the Face of the Blessed One,'² where they pray for peace upon the Imām whom they call the Stranger, the Martyr, the Oppressed, the Sinless, the Poisoned, the Bereaved, the Grieved, and the Guide and Protector of the followers of the right way. They pass then to the East, 'at the foot of the Blessed One,' where they pray for peace upon the Imām again, but they include in their prayer the curse, 'God kill him who killed thee! And God curse those who oppressed thee by their hands and their tongues.' They then go 'behind the Head of the Blessed One,' and again ask for peace upon the Imām, this time as the heir of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad. Finally they pray 'above the Head of the Blessed One,' at the West, 'Be thou for me a mediator before God on High, a Saviour from Hell fire, on Earth a Support, and on the Road of Life an Assurance, and in the Grave a most intimate Friend and Companion, and the mercy of God and His blessing be upon thee.'"³

There are two mihrābs almost alike, that are of particular interest from an artistic

¹ "Encyclopedia of Islam," Vol. III, p. 471, art. "Meshhed."

² It is the Muḥammadan custom, at the time of burial, to lay the corpse on its right side, facing the

Kibla.

³ Cf. the chapter on "The Distant Shrine at Mashhad" in the author's *The Shi'ite Religion*, Vol. VI in Luzac's *Oriental Religions Series*, p. 181.

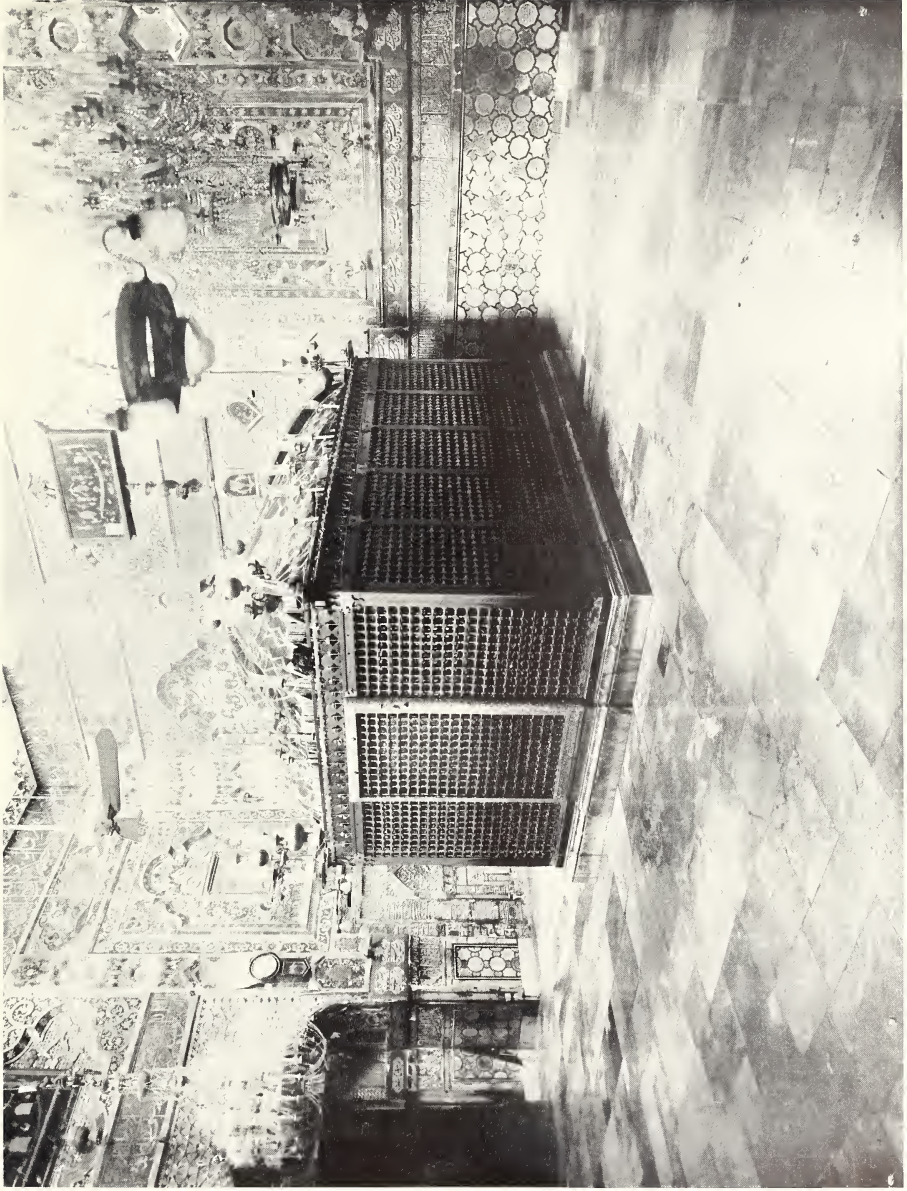


FIG. 1—MASHHAD, HARAM OF IMĀM RIDĀ, INTERIOR

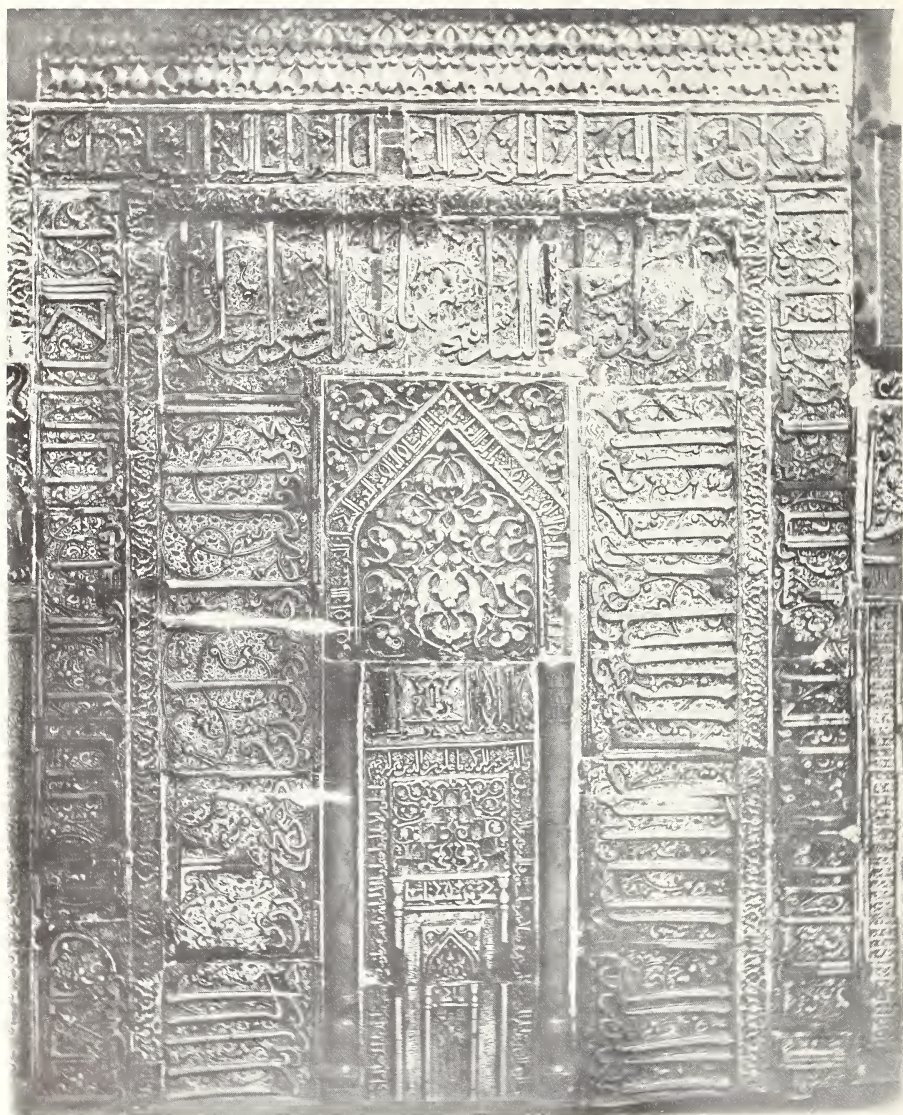


FIG. 2—MASHHAD, HAREM OF IMĀM RIDĀ, MIHRĀB

point of view.⁴ It has been possible to photograph one of these so that its inscriptions can be identified (*Fig. 2*). The other one, however, is so close to the tomb that it was impossible to photograph it without standing with one's back toward the Imām, which would of course be out of the question.⁵

In the *Maṭla' al-Shams*, which was written by the Persian scholar Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, Ṣanī' al-Dawla, (1885), there are transcriptions of practically all the writings that were legible in his day in the Ḥaram and its adjacent buildings. The following is a translation of his account of the inscriptions in the Ḥaram itself, with particular attention to the study of the two mihrābs in the South wall "before the Face of the Blessed One."

THE WRITINGS IN THE PURE SANCTUARY⁶—Around the raised rim of the door "before the Face of the Blessed One" there is this explanation, which is written in the *thulth* script with raised Arabic letters on valuable lustre tiles:

"In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate, this is the tomb—sacred, precious, highly esteemed and cleansed—of our Leader the Imām,—the Sinless, the Preserved, the Persecuted Martyr al-Ridā, 'Alī,—the sūn of the martyr at Kerbelā, Ḥusain, who was the brother of Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī b. Abū Tālib. 'Alī is the Prince of the Faithful, the Champion of the Upright, the Vicegerent of the Apostle who is the spiritual guide of the two worlds, i.e. Muḥammad, who was the son of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the mercy and the blessing of God be upon him and his descendants, the Excellent (*al-ṭaiyibīn*) and the Cleansed (*al-ṭāhirīn*), and upon his noble Companions (*aṣḥāb*)."⁷

At about the same place, and to the left for anyone who enters the tomb room from the South, there is a description of the above mentioned writing:

"The work of the faulty slave who is in need of the mercy of his Master, a slave of the Imām, upon whom be blessing and peace,—'Alī the son of Muḥammad the Reader (of the *Ḳor'ān*), may God grant him forgiveness."

⁴ "But in Persia a second type developed alongside of the stucco mihrāb, the mihrāb decorated with lustre faience." . . . "These mihrābs show the same double niches as their stucco counterparts but are flatter, more framework than niche. In place of the curved arch the canopy is a rectilinear gable, a change in shape probably mainly due to the material. The colours are predominantly a bright blue ground with letters in dark blue relief and decorations in brown lustre. By the combined effect of the colours and the profuse ornamentation these mihrābs have a truly fairy-like suggestion and reach the highest ideal of Islamic decorative art. . . . Finally the frames and the scrolls of the inscription filling them are frequently inlaid with that finely executed tile-mosaic which forms the glory of Timūrid

architectural ornament." (*Encyclopedia of Islam*, art. "Mihrāb" by E. Diez, Vol. III, p. 489.)

⁵ It is this second mihrāb that may be seen partially in the photograph of the Ḥaram (*Fig. 1*). It is immediately to the left of the tomb.

⁶ *Maṭla' al-Shams*, Vol. II, pp. 56–62. The terms *rauḍā'i-muṭaḥhara* (the pure garden) and *ḥaram-i-muṭaḥhara* (the pure sanctuary) are used in designating the tomb rooms of any of the Imāms, also of Muḥammad himself, or of his daughter Fāṭima. Among the Shī'ites the entire Shrine and its courts is ḥaram but the tomb room is the ḥaram in the sense of the Holy of Holies.

⁷ The omission of intervening generations and thus designating one of the later Imāms as a son of Ḥusain is not uncommon.

Underneath this writing, but in another paragraph, is the following observation:

"The weakest of the servants of God, Muḥammad the son of Abū Ṭāhir b. Abū Ḥasan . . . afterwards, what he did on the first of the month Djamādi I, in the year 612 (A.H.), may God grant forgiveness to him and to his father and to all men and women believers who are faithful to Muḥammad and his pure offspring."

From these two writings it appears that 'Alī b. Muḥammad the Reader was the one who had the work done and that Muḥammad b. Abū Ṭāhir was the workman.*

On the front of this same sacred door, and circumscribing the inscription beginning "And the mercy and blessing of God," there are verses by the poet Abū Nuwās⁸ in praise of the Imām Riḍā:

"Most pure are the sayings of their hearts,
Blessing flows upon them wherever they are mentioned.
Whoever is not of the descendants of 'Alī, when you reckon his lineage,
He has nothing from ancient times of which to glory.
Surely when God created the world he established them
As your best ones and your chosen ones, O mankind!
You are the sublime assembly (*mala'i a'lā*).
With you would be knowledge of the Book
Though the Sūras had never come."

Also beneath the writing beginning "And the mercy and blessing of God" is written:

"In this place a weak and wayward servant has sought to draw near to God, a servant who is much in need of the mercy of the Most High God, a friend of the descendants of Muḥammad, namely, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ādam b. Abū Nāṣir al-Ḳummī, may God raise him on the last day with the Prophet and his descendants."

On the wall around the door "before the Face of the Blessed One" there is this writing on tiles with gold and silver lettering:

"And said the Apostle of God, the blessing of God be upon him and his descendants, 'O 'Alī, I have been the one to warn my people and you are their guide, and Ḥasan is their leader, and Ḥusain is their driver, and 'Alī b. Ḥusain is their organizer, and Muḥammad b. 'Alī is their instruc-

* This potter is most probably the father of the artist of the mihrābs in Berlin and in the University Museum, Philadelphia. See E. Kühnel, "Dated Persian Lustred Pottery," *Eastern Art*, III, p. 235. Editor.

⁸ The tradition that Abū Nuwās spoke these verses to the Imām Riḍā at the time when the Caliph Ma'mūn had appointed him as his heir apparent may be found in the "*Uyūn al-Akhbār-i Riḍā*" by Ibn Babawaihi (991 A.D.), text lith. in Persia in 1858, p. 281. Abū Nuwās

(810 A.D.) was an Arab poet with Persian blood, who both graced and disgraced the court of Harūn al-Rashīd. While he is spoken of as "not surpassed in poetical genius by any ancient bard," his ethical standard or rather his *modus operandi* was similar to that of Rasputin, for he wrote: "Accumulate as many sins thou canst. The Lord is ready to relax his ire." (Cf. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, 2nd edit., p. 295).

tor, and Dja'far b. Muḥammad is their witness, and Mūsa b. Dja'far is their registrar, and 'Alī b. Mūsa is their saviour, and Muḥammad b. 'Alī is their confirmer, and 'Alī b. Muḥammad is their teacher, and Ḥasan b. 'Alī is their summoner, and Our Established Heir (the Imām of the present time) is their water carrier."

This is a noteworthy tradition, and at the same place there is written in the Kūfic script the seventy-fifth verse of the Sūra *al-Ḥidj*r (lvii), "Verily, in this are signs for those who scan heedfully," which is followed by a prayer of adoration:

"Holy is God throughout the night and all the day,
 Holy is God morning and evening,
 Holy is God at the very end of the night and the very beginning of morn.
 Holy is God and praise be unto Him!
 There is no God but God, and unto Him be praise, for He has led us;
 And may grace and peace be upon our Prophet,
 And upon the Propitiator of our sins, and upon our Leader."

On the upper part of the walls in the sacred tomb room, on rare tiles that are made to resemble chinaware, are written the first five verses of the Sūra *al-Faṭḥ* (cviii).

There is a writing that begins by the door "at the Foot of the Blessed One" and extends to the corner of the room, which includes the first nineteen verses of the Sūra *al-Dahr* (lxxvi).⁹ And on the upper part of the wall, to the right and extending towards the veranda of Shāh Tahmāsp, are verses 4-12 of the Sūra *al-Faṭḥ*. The date of this writing is the second of the month Djamādī II, 760 A.H.

Extending around the walls of the Ḥaram there are hexagonal tiles on which may be read various verses from the Traditions and the *Ḳor'ān*, as well as sophisms and proverbs and verses of poetry. Among these there is one that may be read when a person stands opposite the tomb. It is a saying that is attributed to Muḥammad:

"You can never exceed all men in wealth,
 Try therefore to excell them in character."

Ibrāhīm b. 'Abbās al-Ṣulī has remarked that this one teaching outweighs all the other teachings of mankind. Among other traditional sayings of Muḥammad that are written here are these:

"Beware of punishing the nobility" (612 A.H.).

"In the hearts of believers two things are not found, stinginess and evil suspicion."

With this is the comment, "How true are these words of the Apostle of God, the blessing of

⁹ The writer has considered it sufficient to cite the references rather than to quote these *Ḳor'ānic* passages in full, except in the detailed study of the mihrāb that

is photographed, when Rodwell's translation has been employed.

God be upon him and his descendants." There are two verses of poetry among these sayings that bear the name of the writer and the date:

"May there be more than a thousand blessings of God upon thee, O Stranger of Khorāsān and true Imām! I desire thee, O noble Martyr, for in my heart and in my life I am a slave of truth."

The writer of this was 'Abd-Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. 'Abd-Allāh, and the date was 612 A.H. And underneath this verse is written Sūra *al-Mā'ūn* (cvii), and also Sūra *al-Qadr* (xcvii).

To the left as one enters the tomb room there is written a saying of the Prophet: "The world is the prison of believers and the heaven of infidels." The date of this writing is 760 A.H. And on a tile that is nearby there is the same tradition, but with this addition:

"Whoever is killed from no fault of his own is to be regarded as a martyr, and whoever is killed away from his family is a martyr," . . . "O God, forgive 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Mu'ad."

On one of the new tiles that has no special quality, to the left as one stands to pray, underneath the dome and not far from the miḥrāb in front of the tomb, close to the ground and in the corner, there is a tribute to 'Alī (ibn Abū Ṭālib) that was written by Hādjī 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ādam al-Ḳummī:

"O Judge of the Faith, and pure husband of al-Batūl (Fāṭima),
O your strong arm that prospered the cause of the Apostle;
In the realm above and on the earth beneath,
No work is acceptable but from love of thee."

THE MIḤRĀBS—There are two miḥrābs in the south wall of the tomb chamber which have been mentioned. They are "opposite the face" of the Imām, one on each side of the door, and each has several writings around it. Looking at the one on the left as a person would stand facing them, the first writing (beginning at the bottom of the first column from the margin on the right), on lustre tiles and in raised Kūfic characters, is as follows:

"In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate, . . ." (followed by verses 60-62 of Sūra *Mā'da*, v), "Verily, your protector is God and His Apostle, and those who believe, who observe prayer, and pay the alms of obligation, and who bow in worship. And whoso take God and His Apostle, and those who believe for friends, they truly are the people of God; they shall have the upper hand. O ye who believe! take not such of those who have received the Scriptures before you, as scoff and jest at your religion, or the Infidels, for your friends, but fear God if ye are believers."

The second writing, in the *thulth* script and also in raised characters (the large characters second from the margin in the photograph), is comprised of verses 80-82 of Sūra *Beni Isrā'il* (xvii), following the usual introduction:

"In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate, . . . Observe prayer at sunset till the first darkening of the night, and the daybreak reading—for the daybreak reading hath its wit-

nesses, And watch unto it in the night: this shall be an excess in service: it may be that thy Lord will raise thee to a glorious station: And say: 'O my Lord, cause me to enter with a perfect entry, and to come forth with a perfect forthcoming, and give me from thy presence a helping power.'"

On the canopy or "crescent" (*ḥilālī*) of this miḥrāb is written, also after the conventional introduction, verse 16 and part of verse 17 from the Sūra *al-Imrān* (iii):

"In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate, . . . God witnesseth that there is no God but He: and the angels, and men endued with knowledge, stablished in righteousness, *proclaim* 'There is no God but He, the Mighty, the Wise!' The true religion of God is Islām:"

And on the front of the miḥrāb, below the canopy, is written in Kūfic characters: "There is no God but God and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God." And below this, in less conspicuous white letters, are written verses 1-7 from Sūra *al-Mu'minīn* (xxiii):

"Happy now the Believers, Who humble them in their prayer, And who keep aloof from vain words, And who are doers of alms deeds, And who restrain their appetites, (Save with their wives, or the slaves whom their right hands possess: for *in that case* they shall be free from blame; but they whose desires reach further than this are transgressors."

Another writing that appears here in inconspicuous yellow letters (the inmost inscription which is not legible in the photograph), consists of verses 285-286 from the Sūra *Baqara* (ii):

"The Apostle believeth in that which has been sent down from his Lord, as do the faithful also. Each one believeth in God, and His Angels, and His Books, and His Apostles. And they say, 'We have heard and we obey. Thy mercy, Lord! for unto thee must we return.' God will not burden any soul beyond its power. It shall enjoy the good which it hath acquired, and shall bear the evil for the acquirement of which it laboured. O our Lord! punish us not if we forget, or fall into sin; O our Lord! and lay not on us a load like that which thou hast laid on those who have been before us; O our Lord! and lay not on us that for which we have not strength: but blot out our sins and forgive us and have pity on us. Thou are our protector: give us victory therefore over the infidel nations."

At the end and near the ground is written in small characters (indistinguishable in the photograph): "Great and holy is my Preserver in whom is my praise"; and also on the front of the miḥrāb there is written, "Be humble (*khāshī*'an) in your prayers," (and this is easily seen).

Observing the other of these two miḥrābs, the one to the right as one faces them, there is this writing in Kūfic script:

"For the good deeds drive away the evil deeds;

This is a warning for those who reflect: and persevere steadfastly.

For verily God will not suffer the reward of the righteous to perish." (Sūra xi: 116-117).

There is also another writing here in the *ṭhulīḥ* script from Sūra ii: 139-140.

In the canopy of this mihrāb on the right there is also a verse from Sūra ii, verse 285 only. And there is another writing in inconspicuous white characters, which is mostly worn away, but what remains of it is as follows:

"The Imām said, peace be upon him, 'Whoever comes to see me at my distant abode and visits my tomb, on the Day of Judgment I will come to him in three places, (1) to save him from his terrors when the Books are scattered right and left, (2) and when passing the Şirāt, (3) and at the time of weighing sin and merit.' (Maǧilisi, "*Toḥfatu al-Zāir'in*," p. 318).¹⁰

On the front of this mihrāb there is written another tradition about the merit of visiting the tomb of the Imām Riḍa:

"'It is equivalent to a thousand accepted visits to the Ka'ba,' and Saiyid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad asked Abū Dja'far, 'Really a thousand visits to the Ka'ba?' He replied, 'Yes, I swear by God himself that it is equivalent to a thousand *ḥadj* for anyone who makes this pilgrimage and recognizes that he is an Imām.'"

And around this mihrāb is written in the Kūfic character:

"Surely God and His Angels bless the Prophet, O you who believe, so call for divine blessings on him and salute him with a becoming salutation."

And there is written on a white tile in raised characters:

"In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate, Allah bears witness that there is no God but He, and so do the angels and those possessed of knowledge, established in righteousness,—there is no God but He, the Mighty, the Wise," (Sūra iii: 17).

Likewise on the front there is inscribed in the Kūfic character: "There is no God but God, and Muḥammad is His Apostle." And the name of the writer is indicated in this way: "May God forgive whoever asks forgiveness for Abū Zaid b. Muḥammad b. Abū Zaid the Naḳḳāsh." And underneath this is written in the Kūfic script: "Let there be humility in your prayers."

Around the small inner arch of the mihrāb is written in small Kūfic characters:

"It is related on the authority of ('Alī) the Amīr al-Mu'minīn, 'A man of my offspring will be killed in *Khorāsān*,' etc. to the end of the tradition."¹¹

The Sūra *Tawhīd* (cxii) is also written in small characters on this arch, and near the ground the date is indicated in raised letters on tiles, "In the month of Rabi' al-Akher, 612 A.H."

¹⁰ Cf. important article by D. B. Macdonald on "al-Ḳiyāma" in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*; also Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, "Mizān," p. 353, and "Al-Şirātu al-

Mustakīm," p. 595; and particularly the *Ḳor'ān*, xx:47.

¹¹ D. M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion*, p. 170. Cf. Maǧilisi, *Toḥfatu al-Zāir'in*, p. 314 ff.

In the midst of the first inscription in the Kūfī character, which is in large letters, there are five lines inserted of small *ṭhulṭh* script:

"O Lord, by the right of this sinless Imām, have mercy on this thy servant, who reads the Sūra *al-Fātiḥa* (i) one time especially for the sake of this weak one 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ādam; and who says, 'O Lord blot out his sins, and have mercy upon him, by thy Grace, Compassion, and Mercy."

There is a third mihrāb "above the head of the Blessed One," at the place where the pilgrims pray. Around it also there are interesting writings. From among them, for example, there is verse 80 from Sūra xvii (as on the first mihrāb). Around the magnificent arch is inscribed Sūra iii:16; and around the mihrāb itself verses 187-188 of Sūra iii appear in the *ṭhulṭh* script. With this inscription there is an explanation that it was the work of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abū Ṭāhir, "may God forgive his sins."

And at this place there are written on small green bricks, that were used perhaps in the course of the repair of the arch, several choice sentences:

"The love of 'Alī is excellent and results in no evil."

"I am the *city* of learning and 'Alī is its *gate*."

"O 'Alī, thou are in the same relation to me that Aaron was to Moses."

"Whoever follows me, let 'Alī be his Master."¹²

¹² For these well known traditions see particularly Tirmidhī, 46: 19 and 20, and other references given by

Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition*, p. 15.

FRAGMENTS OF A THIRTEENTH CENTURY MIHRĀB AT NEDJEF BY MEHMET AGA-OGU

DURING A RECENT VISIT TO THE MASHHADI IMĀM 'ALĪ AT NEDJEF TWO FRAGMENTS OF A Persian lusted pottery mihrāb of the well-known type were found and photographed (*Figs. 1 and 2*). Both of these fragments are attached separately to the wall of the mosque known popularly as the *Djāmi' Zīr Dālān* or *Djāmi' Sar* which adjoins the Imām Shrine. The exact date of this mosque is unknown but some of its structural features point to the late Ilkhān period, although this cannot be definitely proved without a detailed examination of the building itself, which in modern times has been restored and entirely covered with plaster. The pentagonal panel is to be seen inside a simple mihrāb niche while the other piece is attached to another part of the wall.

Fig. 1 shows the principal central part of a mihrāb. It measures 1.39 m. x 0.59 m. and is composed of two large rectangular tiles with a framing border. The elongated pieces of varying lengths which make up this border most certainly were originally from another part of the same mihrāb and added to the inner portion during the process of the restoration of the building. The inner portion is decorated on an ornamental lusted background with an elegant calligraphic arch under which is suspended a lamp. The space at the bottom surrounding the lamp is filled with arabesques. Except for this small region the entire surface is occupied by a Naskhī inscription, executed in relief and glazed in a light turquoise blue. The text of the inscription is the last two verses (285 and 286) of Sūra ii of the *Ḳor'ān*. The tiles of the border, also containing an inscription, are placed here with considerable lack of order; a fragment in the upper left corner and others on the left side towards the middle are fitted in so that the inscriptions on them run in opposite directions. Thus the text, consisting of phrases from verses 188 and 191 of Sūra iii of the *Ḳor'ān*, does not present a logical continuity.

The second piece (*Fig. 2*) is the larger upper pentagonal part of the mihrāb. Its measurements are 0.85 m. by 0.80 m., and it is decorated with symmetrically composed arabesques in relief on a lusted background, which are interwoven with minute palmetto scroll work.

A piece similar to the principal part of the Nedjef mihrāb is the portion of the mihrāb from *Ḳumm* in the Islamic Department of the State Museums in Berlin.¹ The Berlin piece contains the name of the artist 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭāhīr and the date tenth of Ṣafar, 663 A.H. The same calligraphic arch, the same suspended lamp, and even the same text decorate both pieces, the only difference being that on the Berlin piece a portion of the inscription at the top is in Kūfī script and that the space around the lamp is filled with both signature and date. From these similarities we can at once assume that the piece at

¹ E. Kühnel, "Dated Persian Lusted Pottery," *Eastern Art*, III, Fig. 13.



FIG. 1.—NEDJEF, DJAMI' ZĪR DĀLĀN, CENTRAL PART OF A MIHRĀB
XIII CENTURY



FIG. 2—NEDJEF, DJAMI' ZĪR DĀLĀN, UPPER PENTAGONAL PART OF A MIHRĀB
XIII CENTURY

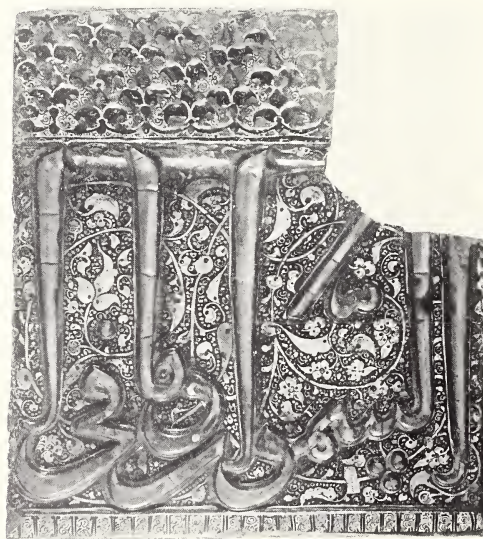


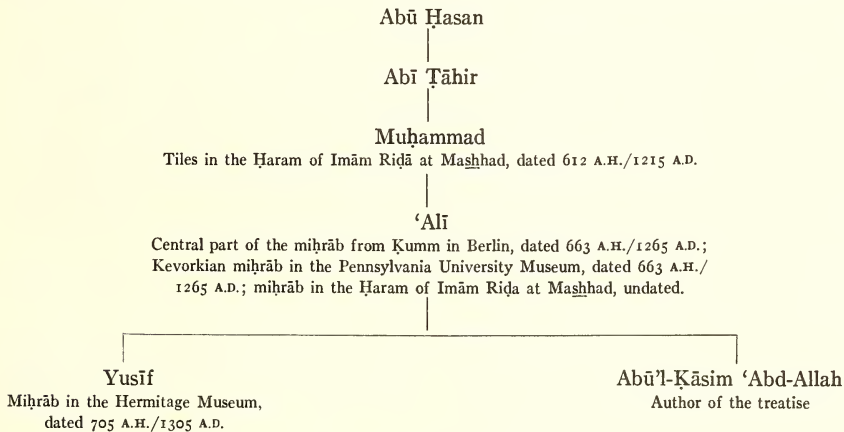
FIG. 1—CARREAU DU MIHRĀB DE VARĀMĪN, DATÉ 1265
LENINGRAD, MUSÉE DE L'HERMITAGE

Nedjef is a work from the atelier of the above-mentioned potter, probably from Kāshān, to which also belongs the Kevorkian mihrāb in the University Museum, Philadelphia.² This latter mihrāb has, not only a counter piece to the principal part of the Nedjef mihrāb, but also one to the Nedjef pentagonal panel. The composition of the arabesques on both of these pentagonal pieces is of a similar nature, with the identical interweaving palmetto scroll work, thus giving further evidence of a common workmanship.

In connection with this short notice it ought to be pointed out that panels like those of Nedjef and of Berlin are not the complete mihrābs as is believed but only a part, as can be seen by a comparison with any complete mihrāb which shows the location of these parts. This is further proved by the fact that we find at Nedjef the central portion and the larger pentagonal panel of the destroyed mihrāb both preserved in the same building.

APPENDIX

Through the publication of a recently discovered treatise on Persian pottery technique by Abū'l-Ḳāsim 'Abd-Allah b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir al-Kāshānī from the year 1301 A.D. we have come into the possession of an important document which enlarges our knowledge in the respective field (*Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayencetechnik*, von H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre, R. Winderlich, Istanbul, 1935). The author, as F. Sarre has pointed out (p. 68), belonged to a family of potters whose atelier in Kāshān was responsible for a group of works well-known to students. In this issue of *Ars Islamica* D. M. Donaldson publishes the inscriptions bearing names of artists and dates on tiles and mihrābs in the Ḥaram of Imām Riḍā at Mashhad, thus furnishing additional information on the Kāshān potters. Based on this material we are able to construct the following genealogical table:



² E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, Fig. 14.

FRAGMENTS DU MIHRĀB DE VARĀMĪN

PAR V. A. KRATCHKOWSKAYA

L'ÉTUDE DES FAÏENCES PERSANES LUSTRÉES A FAIT DE GRANDS PROGRÈS PENDANT LES DERNIÈRES ANNÉES. Deux listes chronologiques, dressées par M. E. Kühnel sont de la plus grande importance. La première, dédiée à la faïence persane en général, embrasse aussi cette belle catégorie de faïences lustrées au nombre de près de 50 pièces.¹ Dans la deuxième, consacrée exclusivement aux faïences lustrées de toutes formes, le nombre des pièces comprises dépasse sensiblement celui de la première liste. On y trouve 17 objets de vaisselle, 43 étoiles et croix de revêtement, près d'une douzaine de mihrābs et neuf pièces détachées du même genre.² On sera bientôt obligé d'élargir ce répertoire en proportions inégales peut-être. Dans cette liste, les étoiles de revêtement qui y figurent en plus grand nombre, sont ordinairement représentées par un exemplaire unique, daté d'une telle ou telle année, rarement par une série, comme par exemple celle de Varāmīn ou de Damghān. Ici surtout on peut s'attendre à de nombreuses additions: tandis qu'un mihrāb ou une frise en carreaux de faïence ne portent qu'une seule date, on avait l'habitude de dater plusieurs étoiles, parfois une croix, appartenant au même édifice.³

L'utilité des études chronologiques est évidente. On saisira alors facilement les séries, on remarquera les similitudes, les lacunes deviendront plus apparentes. Par malheur, les pièces datées sont rares. Les coupes, vases, plats etc. sortaient trop souvent des ateliers sans être datés; les musées en sont pleins. Par contre, un édifice qui n'a pas été daté à son origine fait exception, c'est pourquoi les carreaux et les étoiles de revêtement, déracinés et dispersés, ont perdu leurs dates, qui parfois n'étaient pas inscrites sur la faïence même.

La définition des pièces datées d'un musée est une tâche primordiale; mais il ne suffit pas d'attribuer des dates approximatives à tout le reste de monuments, il faut tâcher de pénétrer le secret de leur origine. Cette partie du travail est plus difficile, elle s'avance lentement, avec peu de succès. Heureusement, les similitudes sont parfois si grandes, qu'on n'hésite pas de faire des rapprochements. Par exemple, dès que M. M. S. Dimand publia la date Shawwāl 707 A.H., qui se trouve sur un carreau de la frise aux oiseaux du Metropolitan Museum,⁴ l'appartenance d'autres carreaux semblables, conservés dans différentes collections de l'Europe, au même monument devint indubitable. Outre les exemplaires cités par M. M. S. Dimand et M. E. Kühnel, trois carreaux du Musée de l'Hermitage à Leningrad y appartiennent également. Autrefois ils faisaient partie de la collection du Musée Stieglitz, d'où ils passèrent à l'Hermitage en 1925.

Il ne suffit pas tout de même d'attribuer quelques carreaux à une certaine frise: le texte

¹ *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, 1924, pp. 42 suiv.; *Cicerone*, 1924, pp. 15 suiv.

² "Dated Persian Lustrated Pottery," *Eastern Art*, Vol. III, 1931, pp. 221-236.

³ Une nouvelle liste avec de nombreuses additions est

en préparation pour le *Survey of Persian Art*.

⁴ Lue par Prof. N. Martinovitch; voir M. S. Dimand, "Dated Specimens of Mohammedan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 99, note 1 et p. 100, note 3.

décousu, si simple qu'il soit, peut aussi fournir quelques données supplémentaires. Par exemple, les fragments d'un texte coranique permettent parfois de former un jugement d'après la quantité des lacunes de la citation sur la longueur originale de la frise, ce qui nous aide à déterminer ensuite la place qu'occupait chaque carreau dans son ordre général et nous donne l'idée des dimensions de la partie architecturale dont ils faisaient partie. Sans aucun doute, la frise de 707 A.H. aux versets de la s. 76, dont nous connaissons maintenant au moins 16 carreaux,⁵ était destinée à embellir un bâtiment religieux, certainement un mausolée ou une mosquée funéraire.⁶

Les carreaux du Musée de l'Hermitage portent l'inscription suivante. Sur les carreaux voisins 1 et 2 se trouve: *za[mharirān wa dāniyatan] 'alaihim ḡilā[luhā . . . (Ḳor'ān, s. 76, v. 13-14 ')]*; sur le carreau 3: *[fiḍḍatin ḡaddarūhā]* (*Ḳor'ān*, s. 76, v. 16). Les carreaux 2 et 3 sont brisés en deux pièces et recollés postérieurement. Les têtes de tous les oiseaux sur chaque carreau, peintes sur lustre à réserve aussi bien que celles qui sont modelées en relief, ont été mutilées pendant quelque mouvement iconoclaste.

La méthode typologique combinée avec la méthode épigraphique ne tardera pas à porter fruit. M. E. Kühnel a eu parfaitement raison en notant l'incorrection et les défauts de la reconstruction du mihrāb de Varāmīn, appartenant à M. H. Kevorkian et exposé au University Museum, Philadelphia.⁸ L'absence de quatre carreaux de la grande frise extérieure, trop visible, nuit beaucoup à l'ensemble. Parmi les grands carreaux non datés du même genre au Musée de l'Hermitage il y en a deux, ornés d'une bordure de fleurons en relief. Malgré leur similitude générale, qui fait penser à leur provenance d'un atelier commun, ils appartiennent à des ensembles différents: l'un a des fleurons blancs sur fond lustré, l'autre au contraire des fleurons lustrés sur fond blanc. En comparant ce dernier à la frise de Varāmīn, on remarque qu'il s'y rattache parfaitement, par la décoration de sa bordure tout aussi bien que par le texte. M. E. Kühnel y a défini le *Ḳor'ān*, s. 62, v. 1-4; en réalité la citation de la frise extérieure est un peu plus longue et s'achève en bas à gauche, assez brusquement, par les mots du v. 5: *[mathalu al-ḡawmi]*. La longueur de la lacune au commencement du texte égale la longueur des quatre carreaux. Celui de l'Hermitage, acquis pour le Musée Stieglitz en 1901 chez Mme. Duffenty à Paris, contient les mots *[al-samawāti wa mā fī a]*; il est le troisième en comptant d'en bas à droite, un coin lui manque (*Fig. 1*).

Encore un carreau du même type, justement le quatrième, existe dans la collection Homborg.⁹ Son texte *[l-arḡi al-maliki a]* s'accorde parfaitement d'un côté—avec le carreau de

⁵ Outre les trois carreaux du Musée de l'Hermitage, treize carreaux énumérés chez E. Kühnel, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 et 235.

⁶ J'espère prouver cette hypothèse dans une publication spéciale qui traitera d'un cas semblable.

⁷ Les inscriptions originales n'ont pas tous les points nécessaires.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 235, note 11 et Pl. CXVIII, Fig. 14; F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Textband, Fig. 77.

⁹ Reproduit chez G. Migeon, *Exposition des arts musulmans*, Paris, 1903, Pl. 32; du même auteur, *Manuel d'art musulman. Arts plastiques et industriels*, II, Fig. 347.

l'Hermitage, de l'autre—avec le cinquième du miḥrāb même: ³ | *al-samawāti wa mā fī a* ⁴ |
l-arḍi al-maliki a ⁵ | *l ẓuddūsi al-'azīzi al-ḥakīmi* | . . .

Ainsi la méthode épigraphique permet d'établir la provenance et la date de deux carreaux de faïence lustrée, conservés dans deux musées différents. Si l'on va s'appliquer à l'étude détaillée des parties de la petite frise du miḥrāb de Varāmīn, qui contient des fragments du "verset du Trône" (*Ḳor'ān*, s. II, v. 256), peut-être arrivera-t-on à les découvrir aussi quelque part.

NOTES

A STUDY OF THE HOLY SHRINES AT NEDJEF AND KERBELĀ

Through the courtesy and special arrangements of the Royal 'Irāk Government it was made possible for the Research Seminary in Islamic Art of the University of Michigan to undertake during November 1934 a thorough investigation of the two most venerable religious institutions of the *Shi'*it world, the *Mashhadī* Imām 'Alī at Nedjef and the *Mashhadī* Imām Ḥusain at Kerbelā.

Because of the strict interdiction for non-Muhammadans to enter these shrines their collections of art objects have remained until today completely unknown to Western students. It was the fortunate opportunity for the writer to examine for the first time the treasuries of both shrines and to photograph all of the objects of art historical interest for the purpose of special publication.

Accompanied by the inspector of the Department of Antiquities and the photographer of the 'Irāk Museum at Baghdād the writer first visited Kerbelā. The investigation revealed that nothing was preserved in the shrine of Imām Ḥusain except two small Kufic *Kor'āns* on parchment of the usual known type. According to the officials of the Ḥaram this was due to the fact that during the invasion of the city by the Wahābits on April 20, 1801, the shrine was plundered and its art treasures destroyed. The disappointment in Kerbelā was, however, richly compensated in Nedjef where a large collection of Persian textiles and rugs of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries were found deposited in two small dark rooms in the Ḥaram building. This textile collection consists mainly of door hangings, coverings of the Imām Tomb, and other pieces of various sizes and used as coverings for relics. They represent a large variety of silk fabrics,

silver and gold brocades, and velvets. Of unusual interest is a group of embroideries with figural designs and silk brocades containing the date and signature of the artist. Among these of historical importance are, for example, a large silver brocaded fabric signed by Seyfī 'Abbāsi and a magnificent gold brocaded door hanging signed by Kuṭb al-Dīn and dated 1035 A.H. (1625 A.D.). Both artists are unknown.

The rug collection has several splendid examples of the best Ṣafawid period the publication of which will undoubtedly add valuable information to this field of Persian decorative art.

A special volume on these textiles and rugs is in preparation and will be published in the near future.

The Research Seminary in Islamic Art wishes to express its sincere appreciation to His Excellency Ali Jawdet Bey, the Prime Minister of the Royal 'Irāk government, for his personal interest in arranging the study of this collection, and to Professor Sati Bey El-Husri, Director of Antiquities, and Dr. Mohamed Fadhel Jamali Bey, Director General of Public Education, for their generous assistance in this work.
M. A.-O.

DICTIONARY OF ISLAMIC ARTISTS

The Research Seminary in Islamic Art of the University of Michigan has initiated the publication of an extensive *Dictionary of Islamic Artists* under the editorship of Dr. Ernst Kühnel, Dr. Gaston Wiet, and the Editor. Planned in the lines of the famous *Künstlerlexikon* by Thieme-Becker, and with the collaboration of a great number of scholars from all over the world, the dictionary promises to be an authoritative handbook for students of Islamic Art History. It will contain alphabet-

ically arranged articles on architects, calligraphers, painters, bookilluminators, bookbinders, metalworkers, glassmakers, wood and stone carvers, textile and rug weavers, potters etc. of all Islamic countries and periods. According to the general scheme drawn by the editors each article will deal with: 1—complete information about the life of the artist, 2—characteristics of his artistic activity, and 3—the list of his authentic and attributed works. These will be supplemented by the photographic reproductions of the artist's signature; if he is mentioned in historical sources or inscriptions, by the text and translation of such passages; and by a complete bibliography.

The dictionary will be printed by the University of Michigan Press.

THE EXHIBITION OF EURASIATIC ART AT THE KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM IN VIENNA

An important exhibition of Eurasiatic art with the sub-title "Nomad Art and Animal Style" was on view from November 10, 1934, to January 1, 1935, at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. The exhibition was arranged by the Verein der Freunde Asiatischer Kunst und Kultur in collaboration with the Kunsthistorisches Museum, and apart from public collections they were able to obtain valuable contributions also from distinguished private collectors all over Europe. The result was absolutely unique in its way. For the first time an attempt has been made to show the art of the inhabitants, for the most part Nomads, of the great steppes and plains of Inner Asia, stretching from the outskirts of China in the East as far as the plains of Central Europe in the West. This vast territory was the home of the so-called "Animal Style," and it is to examples of this style that the exhibition was devoted. All the most important centres were represented so that we were able to gain some idea of the constancy and entity of the whole.

The objects exhibited, such as buckles, clasps, belt-hooks, metal-plaques, horse-trappings, ceremonial objects, and many of which it has not yet been possible to determine their use, are for the most part metal-work. Bronze is the most common metal to be employed, but the use of gold and silver is also frequent. The technique is in all cases perfect. The most usual animals represented are: the stag, the antelope, the wild ass, the bear, the tiger and various forms of the griffin. These animals are to be seen in different stages of conventionalisation. In some cases, particularly in the Chinese examples of the Chou and Huai styles, they are so strongly ornamental as to be entirely or almost unrecognizable, often forming geometrical patterns or interlaced bands with animal heads.

Among other things there is a most interesting silver vase belonging to the Danube-Balkan culture under strong Scythian influence. It is a late example of this influence as it cannot be dated earlier than the III or II century B.C. Around the middle of the vase is an animal frieze in true Scythian style, but a geometrical pattern along the base denotes probably Germanic influence. The vase has only recently been found, and has not yet been published.

The Ordos-Bronzes formed the most important part of the exhibition. These interesting objects which have only been known for the last ten years, show considerable similarity to the Chinese art of the Han period, and it is to this period that they most probably belong. The increased intercourse between the Chinese and the inhabitants of Northern and Central Asia brought about a revolution in the methods of warfare of the latter, and the clumsy infantry and charioteers were replaced by horsemen adapted to the lighter and quicker style of the nomad riders. The introduction of the various weapons, horse-trappings and so forth naturally caused a modification in the prevailing style of art in China and a further influence of the animal style.

But the animal style radiated westwards as well as eastwards, and the Awarians introduced it into Europe many hundred years later. The Hungarian finds show how tenacious the animal style was, and how little the examples from the VII, VIII and IX centuries A.D. in Europe differ from the Pre-Christian finds in Asia.

But the animal style found its way into Europe long before the Hungarian finds. Already in the pre-historic Hallstatt period its influence can be seen, and although the actual manner of this relationship has not yet been determined, it is nevertheless present as is shown by examples from this culture in the exhibition. Problematic, but also intimately connected with this Nomad art are the Luristān bronzes and the finds from Northern Caucasus and the Kuban dating approximately from 1200 to 500 B.C. Finds from the migration periods of the Germanic tribes bear witness to the final radiations of the animal style in the west.

In this manner the exhibition gave a complete picture of the art of the so-called non-historical peoples inhabiting the plains and steppes of the great Eurasiatic continent, and brought overwhelming proof of the entity and constancy of this interesting style. A catalogue with an introductory text by Dr. Kurt Blauensteiner and Dr. Victor Griessmeier, and sixteen plates of the most important objects was issued.

Hilde Zaloscer.

THE EXHIBITION OF PERSIAN ART AT THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

An exhibition of Near Eastern art, especially of Persian art, was held in the Toledo Museum of Art (Toledo, Ohio) during the month of January, 1935. The objects were loaned by several American museums and a group of New York art dealers, and as some of the outstanding pieces had not been previously exhibited or pub-

lished, the exhibition deserves special review.

Not all branches of Near Eastern art could be included in their full historical range, but the miniatures covered that particular art from its very beginning down to the last known masters. One of the earliest of the paintings was a rather fragmentary fresco, said to have been excavated in Ray, the scene laid in two rows, the upper showing a prisoner before the enthroned king, and the lower, Farīdūn riding on the cow, Pur-mādjē, dragging behind him the half-naked Zahhāk, the whole procession led by the blacksmith, Kāveh, with his banner. The piece has a definite stylistic resemblance to the Mīnā-ī pottery, but the blue and yellow tones with black scrolls are rather harsh and the execution is much coarser. This small fresco adds proof that this story from the *Shāh-Nāme* was, next to the Bahrām Gūr hunting episode, the most popular in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries. It occurs also on an inlaid bronze candlestick in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, a Mīnā-ī bowl in the Detroit Institute of Arts (*Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XII, 1930, p. 31), a lustre tile in the de Osma Collection (*Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Faience of Persia and the Nearer East*, Burlington Fine Art Club, London, 1908, Pl. X), and on several other scattered tiles.

Three leaves from an *Automata* Book dated 1315, indicated, in spite of their late date, the continuation of the Hellenistic style, especially in the rendering of the well-molded faces. Two pages from a natural history book, dated 1340, showed many birds on a deep red ground. A similar red appeared again as the main colour, in combination with strong blues, greens, and yellows, in the *Shāh-Nāme* miniatures which, despite the large Chinese peony flowers used as textile patterns, were in a definitely Iranian style. The Mongolian miniature type of the XIVth century was represented by two leaves from the so-called Chester Beatty *Shāh-Nāme*

manuscript; by a leaf from another early XIVth century *Shāh-Nāme* with larger miniatures in related but somewhat stronger style, and finally, by a fine miniature from the Demotte *Shāh-Nāme*, with an impressive battle scene in exceptionally well preserved colours. Two scenes from a *Zafar-Nāme* dated 1435 displayed the same composition and details of figures and landscape as the anthology written in Shīrāz in 1420 A.D. for Bāysonghur, which is now in the Berlin Museum (*Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LII, p. 145, Fig. 11; p. 146, Fig. 12). One of the finest XVIth century miniatures, a line drawing showing ten men of varying ages performing a Šūfic dance to the beating of a tambourine, was remarkable for the quality of the drawing, the unusual psychological conception of human types, and the vividness of the gestures. It seems most likely that this miniature, with a seal impression dated 955 A.H. (1548 A.D.), was actually painted by Muḥammadī of Herāt, as indicated by an old inscription. Another unusual painting showed a conversation scene, the landscape indicating in the snow-covered rocks, the barren trees, and the gray skies the reflective, pessimistic mood of the two seated old men, a courtier and an ascetic. The *Shāh* Ṭahmāsp costume of the former implies Persian workmanship, but the wintry landscape and the mood of the whole scene points more nearly to Mughal art.

A miniature of more historical interest was the portrait of Sultān Ḥusain by Valī, which appears to be an actual likeness. Among the later miniatures were many signed pieces by Riḍā-i 'Abbāsī, Mu'īn, Muḥammad Muḥsin, Muḥammad Kāsim, and by the Mughal painter, Mir Taqī.

The exhibition included a fairly wide range of potteries. Of the earliest types there was a large, rather shallow bowl covered with green and brown mottled glaze of T'ang character under which was visible a bird with wings and

tail spread, carrying a flower in his beak. The T'ang splash and the flower in the bird's beak reminded one of Sāmarrā features, but the rather impressionistic drawing of the bird pointed to a later period, the Xth century. A score of Minā-i pieces of different styles were shown. Singular among the monochrome wares was a vase with dancing figures in relief, covered with a dark blue glaze. Legless, heron-like birds, their large, well-drawn heads set on the tip of a thin, pointed neck, floating about the center of a plate painted in white, red, and gilt over a cobalt blue glaze, were to be found again on two miḥrāb tiles, floating amid gold and white foliage and scroll work painted on a deep cobalt glaze background, bearing also a large inscription and a palmette leaf border in white glaze. The similarity of the birds and the decoration on the plate and the tiles would indicate similar provenance.

A rather droll motif of elephant heads ending in scrolls, on a black, grayish-green, and blue Sultānābād bowl recalled the Wāk-Wāk tree, while another Sultānābād bowl in grayish-green and white carried an arrangement of fish in light relief similar to the fish commonly used as the sole decorative motif on lustre vessels of the same provenance. Metal prototypes could be traced in an early XIIIth century basin with scalloped edges, turquoise glaze and floral decoration, and again in another turquoise glazed piece, a bowl with two addorsed sphinxes in gold relief serving for the central design which is closely related to and must have derived from a common mirror type. (This was first pointed out by R. M. Riefstahl, in *The Parish Watson Collection of Mohammadan Potteries*, New York, 1922, p. 155, Pl. 53.)

Several examples of Ruṣāfa wares, remarkable for the life-like movement imparted to the drawn animals, and a group of turquoise green glazed Raḳqa wares with black designs partly veiled by iridescence, were shown along

with the Persian potteries at the exhibition.

Medieval fabrics were only meagerly represented, but the Šafawid textiles were shown in a fairly wide range. Among these were two famous pieces signed by Ghīyāth—the Laila-Madjnūn satin on a deep red ground and the figural velvet, an impressive silk tissue with the fishermen scene, and the green-gold brocade with the charming scene presented in ovoid spandrels, of two youths in a garden, amid almond and cypress trees. One fine XVIIth century gold brocade was exhibited in three large sections (loaned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, and a private collector, the latter in the shape of a cope). The small repeat pattern showed a man in a tree top shooting an arrow at a lion which was attacking his horse.

The early XVIth century medallion carpet with deep crimson ground and a border similar to that of the Milan Hunting carpet, was the earliest of the carpets shown. An early XVIIth century Polonaise carpet formerly in the possession of the Prince of Lichtenstein, showed certain relations to the piece in the Berlin Museum which came originally from the same owner. A lesser known type was represented by a fine XVIIth century carpet with dark blue arabesques sweeping over a red ground covered with flowers, and again by a carpet with a light mauve ground covered with varied flower groups surrounding a central medallion. A small fragment of a XVIth century Vase carpet on a white ground, of which a large section is in the Austrian State Collection, was loaned by the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia. Another Vase carpet (Textile Museum), the field divided by lanceolate leaves forming diamond-shaped compartments, is from a group of which the best known representative is the carpet in the Çinili Köşk Museum in Istanbul.

Among the few metal pieces was a large, twelve-sided box of the XIVth century with a

dome-like cover, decorated with seated figures set in rondels, scroll work, and a sham inscription, resembling a well-known piece in the Musée du Louvre (loaned by City Art Museum of St. Louis). One piece was remarkable for the fact that it combined the shape of the usual inlaid candlestick, that is, the wide base and short thick shaft, with the pierced decoration adopted generally in the tall, slender candlestick with low, tripod base, such as we find in the Louvre, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Detroit Institute of Arts.

Some Luristān bronzes and a Persepolis sculpture of one of the royal guards completed the pre-Muhammadan material.

The exhibition and the accompanying catalogue were arranged by the Oriental Department of the Toledo Museum of Art, under the direction of the Curator, Mr. J. Arthur MacLean. It was the first exhibition of Near Eastern art held in Toledo and was received with great interest by the public.

Richard Ettinghausen.

EXCAVATIONS AT RAYY

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the University Museum of Philadelphia joined forces for the excavation of ancient Rayy (Rhages, Raga) in northern Persia. Through the generosity of Mrs. William Boyce Thompson, who was also the principal patroness of the concluded excavations in northeast Persia, the scale of the operations was made adequate. In addition to the excavation of Rayy the expedition had planned to test sites in Luristān, a project which was sponsored by Mrs. Christian Holmes through the American Institute of Persian Art and Archaeology. At this point we want to mention that all efforts would have been in vain had it not been for the most courteous aid of the Persian Government.

The nucleus of Rayy covers an area of four-

teen square miles. A powerful citadel forms the heart of the stem of fortifications extending far into the plain. Citadel and defense walls belong to the Islamic city which comprises most of the archaeological deposit, but in the course of the first season's work Parthian constructions and deep prehistoric strata were also determined. So far no Sasanian, Achaemenian, Median or late prehistoric strata were found.

The principal prehistoric deposit occurs in the mound of Česhme-i 'Alī. Here, on bedrock, we found ceramics of the type of Anau I; crude, mudbrick-like pottery painted with simple geometrical patterns. We cannot yet state with certainty that these ceramics were made by people of the New Stone Age but, at any rate, objects of metal were absent.

On top of the Anau I stratum we found a thick layer containing pottery which was painted with unusually attractive patterns in black on a red ground. There are ibexes or moufflons in splendid conventionalization, kicking up dust-clouds while charging or fleeing. Longlegged waterbirds ripple the lake or river in which they fish. This stratum, accumulated during the early Copper Age, corresponds to a layer determined at Tepe Hīšār in northeast Persia, and contains handmade ceramics of the same color scheme, but painted with geometrical patterns.

Above this stratum we found ceramics identical with those of the second sublayer of the era of painted pottery at Tepe Hīšār. The guide pattern is a floral scroll, but there are also designs with rows of conventionalized birds and human figures. The ground color of this pottery is light brown while as a rule, the decoration is dark brown. During this period the potter's wheel appears in Persia.

The era of plain gray ware is not represented at Rayy, as far as we know at present. However, in a mound (Murteza Gert) about five miles west of the site, we found a settlement with gray pottery of the beginning of the Iron Age.

As to the dating of the Copper Age strata, the French expedition working under Mr. Ghirshman at Tepe Sialk near Kāshān found superimposed on the strata with painted pottery a proto-Elamite layer tentatively attributed to the fourth millennium B.C.

At Rayy a Parthian cult building had been constructed on top of the prehistoric strata. In this building we found the earliest samples of glazed blueish green ware, so far determined by the expedition.

The principal task of the work at Rayy consists in bringing order in the chaos of opinions concerning the remains of the Islamic era. The extraordinary extent of the Islamic city required extreme flexibility of the operations. At times three separate excavations were carried on in various parts of the ruin territory. In addition to testing various points of the city we uncovered the foundations of a Būyid-Seldjūq tomb tower. Though the royal graves had been rifled, many fragments of silk, wool and cotton garments were found.

The work in the city had very satisfactory results. Great numbers of beautiful glazed and plain vessels from Omayyad to Seldjūq times were assembled from the innumerable fragments filling the trashpits of the ancient site. Many hundreds of coins of gold, silver and copper, associated with the once discarded vessels, will give us accurate datings of the ceramics. Ornaments of gold, glass vessels, glazed tiles and wall ornaments of plaster, together with the ceramics, are our most important finds.

The expedition will resume its work in May. During the first season the fertility of certain areas was determined by tests while the second season, as usual, will harvest the results of the difficult initial operations.

The first year at Rayy absorbed all of our time. Thus we had to postpone the test of Luristān until 1935. However, a reconnaissance trip to the valleys of Rūmishgān and Seydīmārre

showed us the wealth of sites, remains of highly developed sedentary people, where, during the past centuries the Lurish nomads only roamed. The strong Persian government, however, is succeeding to pacify and settle the mountaineer, thereby enabling us to examine this hitherto puzzling part of the ancient world.

Erich Schmidt.

EXCAVATIONS AT ǦASR-I-ABŪ NAṢR

The 1933-34 Persian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art continued excavations under the direction of Dr. Joseph M. Upton begun the previous year in southwestern Persia near *Shīrāz*. The site, now called *Ǧasr-i-Abū Naṣr*, is an interesting one. A crescent-shaped hill forms a natural amphitheater, on the slopes and bottom of which are traces of a town protected by a strongly fortified enclosure wall laid out between the horns of the crescent. The western horn is occupied by the "Achaemenian" ruins excavated by the Museum in its first season at this site. On the eastern horn are extensive remains of two inner lines of defenses. A brick wall four meters thick, pierced at intervals by loop holes and further strengthened by round towers at frequent intervals, protects a long tongue of land perhaps used for cattle and sheep in times of attack. Above this tongue and connected with it by a ramp is the pear-shaped enclosure of the fortress proper, on which the chief effort of this second season's work was concentrated. The most prominent feature of the fortress is a tremendous curved wall on the small southern end, which dominates the lower fortified area. This heavy retaining wall formerly extended far around on the north and south sides of the horn to join the high perpendicular cliffs which form a natural protection for much of the enclosure. The existing curved portion, built of roughly dressed stone and white mortar, is some twenty meters in height, and

within it an extensive fill masks the sharp downward slope of the hill and brings the entire level of the fortress enclosure up to its highest natural point. A high podium, taking up about one sixth of the whole area, occupies the entire narrow end of the enclosure and was perhaps the foundation of one of the two important fire altars which traditionally existed near *Shīrāz* in the Arab period. The rest of this inmost fortified area was covered by a typical Oriental labyrinthine town.

The water supply of this fortress was taken care of in an ingenious fashion. From a natural cave half way down the face of the southeastern cliff a shaft was sunk to water level, and a semi-circular wall was built up from the plain in front of this well-room to make it inaccessible from the outside. A flight of steps was then constructed part way down to the cave, and from a hole cut in its roof buckets could be lowered through the cave into the well.

The architecture of the fortress is entirely lacking in decoration and thus can be dated only by inference from objects found there and by comparison with near-by examples. The architecture of the houses, too, is undecorated. The ground plans are irregular and curious, there being a marked disregard of the right angle, and the two levels of building traceable almost everywhere, are so difficult to disentangle that it is evident that they are the result of a gradual transformation as time necessitated reconstruction. The lower level is the better built—stone set in plaster or good mud brick, with hard plaster surfaces on the walls and hard floors of plaster and gravel. The upper level is built of field stone set in mud or of layers of mud piled upon a footing of stone. Flooring is the exception and what there is consists only of packed mud or crude stone paving.

The great walls are similar to Sasanian remains at *Shāpūr* and *Iṣṭakhr*. Coins, pottery, and seals found in the buildings within the

fortress indicate that it was inhabited all through the Sasanian period and also before that for some time under the Parthians. Nothing Arabic has come to light except a few coins, and thus it would seem that Qasr-i-Abū Naṣr fell into complete decay after the Arab conquest. A seal-impression found here, bearing the name of the Sasanian province of Ardashīr Khurre, in which these ruins lie, and also the name of Shīrāz, perhaps confirms and explains a statement in the writings of a twelfth century scholar which indicates that this little fort was the Shīrāz of pre-Arab days and that, as sometimes happened elsewhere in the Islamic world after some vicissitude, the town moved away after the Arab conquest and began anew four miles further west, though still retaining its old and well-known name.

Among the season's finds were some eighty large Sasanian storage jars, varying in height from two to five feet. Their shapes show great variety and no two pieces have identical patterns in the usually incised ornamentation of small stylized pine trees, circle motifs, series of parallel lines, diamond and crisscross motifs, or wavy bands of applied "pie crust" molding.

Few of the smaller pottery forms were found intact, since most of the pottery to be found had been thrown away because it was broken or useless. One unusually interesting find was a fragmentary two-handled jar, unglazed, with the same slightly bulbous body and tall neck as the common blue-glazed Parthian and Sasanian jars of 'Irāk.

Another type of pottery found here is of buff or pinkish clay with part or all of the bands of decoration around the neck and shoulders incised, covered on the outside with red, black or gray slip. Very little glazed ware was found, the only intact pieces being two blue lamps, a jug of typically Sasanian blue-green, and a curious apple-green jar with a tiny cavity probably used for storing scent. From below the top

level came pottery consisting of small red, black or buff jars, sometimes plain and sometimes made with small handles. The lowest levels yielded fragments of buff pottery painted with geometrical patterns in red or black.

Many Sasanian seals and seal impressions came to light, some of them showing busts of Sasanian officials with elaborate headdresses and royal Sasanian bands floating behind.

A number of metal objects were found, including a bronze candlestick assigned to the Sasanian period by the excavators, and a few small pieces of gold jewelry considered to be of the seventh century. There were also a good many two-tined bronze forks and bronze spoons. A small bronze mask among the finds shows clearly a continuance of the Hellenistic tradition, and there is a bronze animal head which is quite Iranian.

There were a few glass objects, bottles, a pair of glass dolls, a glass "eye dropper," etc. An exquisite rock crystal head was discovered, which still has traces of colour on the hair, eyes, and lips.

Outside the fortress were found several objects which are probably pre-Sasanian and perhaps Achaemenian: a superb plate of polished jasper; a small green head of a bird with inlaid eyes of orange, white and black stone, exquisitely cut; and part of a highly polished black stone plaque showing a tiger crouched beneath a tree.

(The above account is condensed from Section II of the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, December 1934.)

A. L. Sunderland.

EXCAVATIONS AT NĪSHĀPŪR

In the spring of 1935 the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York is planning to conduct a preliminary excavation at the ancient site of Nīshāpūr, East Persia, according to an an-

nouncement made by Director H. E. Winlock.

Nīshāpūr is known to have been one of the most important cultural centers of Persia during the Sāsānian and early Islamic periods, and the proposed excavation promises to shed light upon many problems, especially on the Seldjūk art.

The expedition will be under the direction of Dr. Joseph M. Upton, assistant curator of the Near Eastern Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

THE CELEBRATIONS OF THE MILLENNIUM OF FIRDAWSI

The Persian nation celebrated during October, 1934, the thousandth anniversary of her great epic poet Firdawsi with an International Congress of Orientalists in Teheran and the inauguration of a monument in Tūs.

The Congress, which was attended by forty-five delegates from Western countries who came at the invitation of the Persian Government, was formally opened the 4th of October by His Highness Firughī Khan, Prime Minister and President of the Society for the Preservation of National Monuments of Persia. Three American learned institutions were represented at the Congress and Celebrations: The American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology by the Honorable Franklin Mott Gunther, and The Research Seminary in Islamic Art of the University of Michigan and the Detroit Institute of Arts by Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu and Mr. Peter Ruthven.

Among the papers read at the Congress those dealing with the subjects of art history were: *L'art persan à l'époque de Firdawsi* by Dr. Ernst Kühnel; *L'argenterie sassanide et Shāh Nāme* by Prof. Joseph Orbeli; *La céramique de la Perse* by Dr. G. Contenau; *The Illustrations of Shāh Nāme* by Mr. A. Iqbal; *About a Manuscript of Nizāmī's Khusrāw wa Shīrīn in the Freer Gallery in Washington* by Dr. M. Aga-Oglu.

During the Congress the Society for the Preservation of National Monuments received many gifts from American and European institutions. In the name of the Soviet Government the Hermitage Museum presented a collection of copies of its famous Sāsānian silver and gold vessels and a large number of Russian publications on Persian Art. A rich collection of German books on Persian Literature and Art was given by the University of Berlin. The American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology presented an excellent set of photographs of Persian Architecture. The University of Michigan made a gift of free tuition to two Persian students in the field of the History of Islamic Art.

After completing the sessions of the Congress the foreign delegates took a trip to Mashhad in East Persia where at nearby Tūs His Majesty the Shāh officially unveiled the monument erected over the tomb of Firdawsi. The celebrations continued officially until the 20th of October.

Commemorative festivities for Firdawsi were organized in many cultural centres throughout the world. In France the President of the Republic took a personal interest by heading the committee of celebrations which took place in December and included an impressive ceremony at the University of Paris. In London under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society there was a joint meeting of numerous Oriental learned organizations. The School of Oriental Studies arranged an exhibition of *Shāh Nāme* MSS. and other material connected with Firdawsi, and a similar exhibit was held at the British Museum. The celebration in Berlin was conducted by various Oriental Societies with exhibitions and special publications. Early in May the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad under the leadership of Prof. Josef Orbeli opened a Firdawsi exhibit in connection with a large conference, and the provincial museums of the Soviet Union also arranged special commemo-

rative exhibits. In November a large reception in honor of Firdawsi was given in New York by Columbia University, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the New York Public Library, and the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology, with the citizens of Persia in the United States. A splendid exhibit of *Shāh Nāmes* was arranged at the Avery Library of Columbia University and at the Metropolitan Museum. This brief summary will give some suggestion of the extensive and magnificent celebrations held in honor of the millennium of Persia's immortal poet Firdawsi. Isabel Hubbard.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON PERSIAN ART
AND ARCHAEOLOGY

An announcement has been made that the International Congress on Persian Art and Archaeology will meet from September 1st to 10th, 1935, in Leningrad. The Congress will be held under the auspices of the International Committee for Persian Art and Archaeology, the officers of which are Dr. Friedrich Sarre, President, Mr. Arthur Upham Pope, Secretary, and Prof. David Talbot Rice, Treasurer. The Soviet Committee in charge of the plans for the congress has as its chairman Prof. Josef Orbeli, Director of the Hermitage Museum and Professor of Oriental Art of the Leningrad University. Scholars in the field of Persian Art and Archaeology are permitted to have an active membership in the Congress and others who desire to attend are entitled to an associate membership.

GESELLSCHAFT FÜR VERGLEICHENDE
KUNSTFORSCHUNG

Under this name a new society was organized in Vienna during February, 1934, by the leading art historians of Austria with Prof. Dr. Josef Strzygowski as President. According to the announcement the principal aim of the society is "allgemeine und Einzelfragen der bildenden Kunst des Erdkreises zu erforschen und die gewonnenen Kenntnisse zu verbreiten."

The Research Seminary in Islamic Art of the University of Michigan heartily welcomes this society and hopes that it will give due consideration to the research of Islamic arts and crafts.

MATERIAL FOR A CATALOGUE OF THE EARLY
ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE OF PERSIA

Under this general title *ARS ISLAMICA* will begin in the forthcoming Part 2 of Volume II the publication of a series of monographic articles by Mr. Myron Bement Smith, Research Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies in Persia, who has been engaged for many years in studying the architectural monuments of that country. Each article will be devoted to an unknown or hitherto insufficiently published monument of artistic and historical importance, and will also include an epigraphical discussion of the inscriptions by Dr. L. A. Mayer, Professor of Near Eastern Art and Archaeology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Editor.

IN MEMORIAM
BENJAMIN MARCH

July 4, 1899—December 13, 1934

In the untimely death of Benjamin March the Division of Fine Arts of the University of Michigan and the Detroit Institute of Arts have suffered an irreparable loss. His wide knowledge and stimulating personality made him a gifted teacher; his scientific temper and devotion to learning impelled him to productive research. Above all, he impressed students and colleagues alike by the way in which his love of the beautiful in art and literature became a vital force which led him to face life, as he faced death, with wisdom and serenity and poise.

His career, though all too brief, was an eventful one. After graduating from the University of Chicago in 1922, he attended the Union Theological Seminary for a year. Then came the years in China, 1923-1927, which determined his future. First as Professor of English at Hopei University and later as Librarian and Lecturer on Chinese Art in the Yen-ching School of Chinese Studies, he devoted himself to the study of the Chinese language and literature as a means of interpreting not only the art but also the culture of the people with whom he lived. It remained one of his special delights to translate some of the older Chinese poetry, and it is to be hoped that some of his happy versions may be put into permanent remembrance.

In the summer of 1927 he served as Lecturer on Chinese Art at Columbia University, and in 1928 he became Curator of Asiatic Art in the Detroit Institute of Arts. When he was called to the University of Michigan in 1932 as Freer Fellow, Curator in the Museum of Anthropology, and Lecturer on Far Eastern Art in the Division of Fine Arts, he retained his connection with the Detroit Institute as Honorary Curator. Meanwhile, through a special grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Detroit Museum of Art Founders' Society he was enabled to return to China for six months in 1931. In the University he found the type of work in teaching and research for which he was ideally fitted, and his enthusiasm and happiness in it continued unabated to the end.

He rose rapidly to high rank among the scholars in his field. Besides a long list of articles in various journals he wrote two books: *China and Japan in our Museums* (1929) and *Standards of Pottery Description* (1934). The former has passed through several editions; in the latter he developed a new technique for the scientific study of the materials and methods of manufacture of ancient Chinese pottery. During the last month he suffered much from the heart ailment to which he succumbed, but he continued to work and to plan with his usual energy and hope. That he should have been forced to lay it all aside so soon remains for all who knew and loved him a bitter loss.

J. G. W.

ARS ISLAMICA

PRINTED IN U. S. A. BY THE ANN ARBOR PRESS

ARS ISLAMICA

PUBLISHED BY THE RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART
DIVISION OF FINE ARTS · UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

MCMXXXV

VOL. II

PART 2

ANN ARBOR

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

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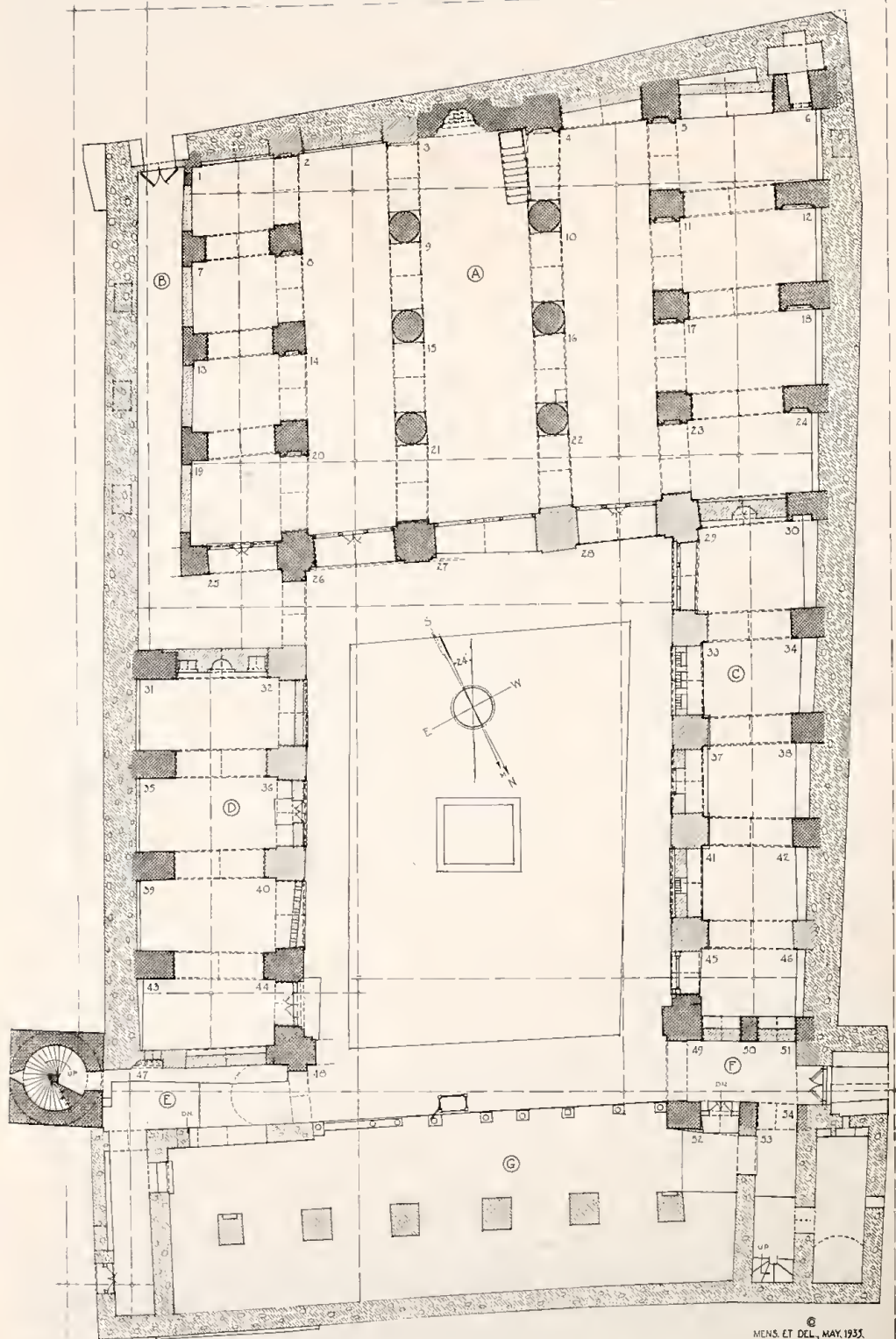
JOHN G. WINTER

EDITORIAL OFFICE: RESEARCH SEMINARY IN ISLAMIC ART, DIVISION OF FINE ARTS,
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, U.S.A.

EDITORIAL

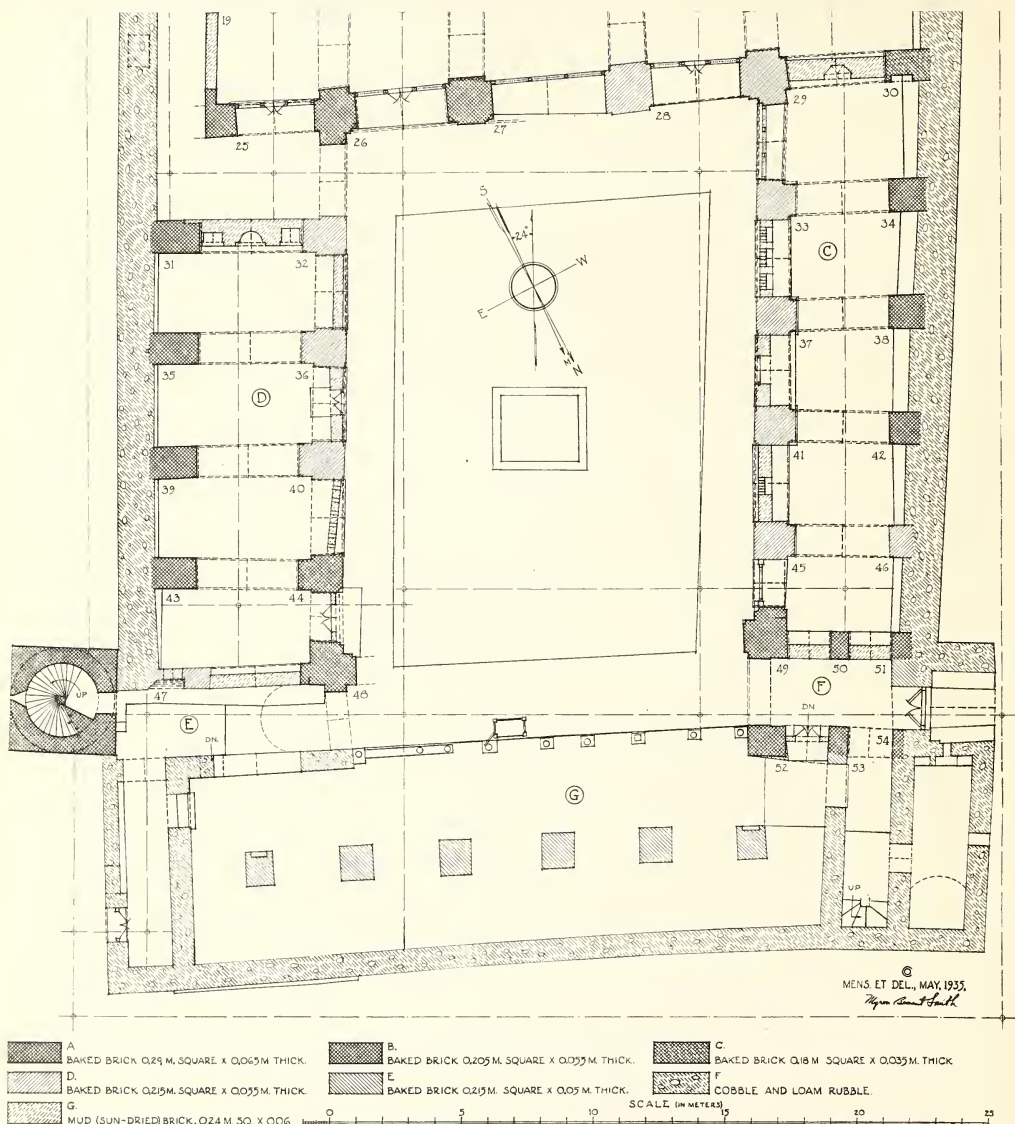
ON JUNE 22, 1935, THE DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR DR. FRIEDRICH SARRE completed his seventieth year. As a scholar, author, teacher, excavator, and museum director he has made contributions of basic importance to the history of Islamic art. When he began his exploratory work forty-five years ago, the study of the artistic cultures of the Islamic countries, to which this journal is devoted, had barely entered upon its formative stage as an independent branch of research. Its rapid growth, as well as the ever-increasing interest which Islamic art now enjoys among men and institutions of learning, must be attributed in large measure to the eminent scholarship and indefatigable efforts of Professor Sarre.

The scope of this editorial does not permit an enumeration of the achievements of this savant, whose record will serve as a guide to the coming generations of experts in their difficult work. However, *ARS ISLAMICA* wishes to express its sincere congratulations to Professor Sarre not only as a member of its Consultative Committee but also as the Dean of studies in Islamic art.



© MENS. ET DEL., MAY, 1935.
Myron Bement Smith

MASJID-I DJUM'A, DEMAWEND
PLAN OF PRESENT STATE, AT SCALE OF 1 : 200
SURVEYED, MEASURED, AND DRAWN BY MYRON BEMENT SMITH



MASPID-I DIUM'A, DEMĀWEND
 PLAN OF PRESENT STATE, AT SCALE OF 1 : 200
 SURVEYED, MEASURED, AND DRAWN BY MYRON BEMENT SMITH

MATERIAL FOR A CORPUS OF EARLY IRANIAN ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE ¹

BY MYRON B. SMITH

I. MASDJID-I DJUM'A, DEMĀWEND

NAME, LOCATION. THE LARGE MOUNTAIN VILLAGE OF DEMĀWEND LIES SOUTH OF THE MOUNTAIN of the same name, on the old summer caravan track ² between Teheran and Mashhad. The still older main route passed farther south, from Rayy along the edge of the Great Salt Desert by the *Caspiae Portae* ³ to Firūzkūh. Demāwend is seventy kilometers from Teheran

¹ In launching this series of monographs, a few words may be in order as to the opportunities and conditions for research in Īrān. Due to the prolonged inaccessibility of the country, the lack of good roads, and the religious exclusion of non-Muslims from the mosques and shrines, the study of the Islamic Architecture of Īrān lagged far behind that of other localities, Istanbul and Cairo for examples. All the more gratitude is therefore due to the earlier scholars: Hommaire de Hell, Texier, Coste, and the Dieulafoys; and to our contemporaries: Messrs. Sarre, Diez, Herzfeld, and Godard (to name some of the best known), whose arduous field work has produced invaluable documents.

Today conditions favor scholarly research. Within the last ten years, thanks to the energy of His Imperial Īrānian Majesty, Rīdā Shāh Pahlawī, Īrān has built a system of motor roads, while the new education has so dispelled fanaticism that mosques in cities or in remote villages may be entered freely by foreigners. A permit to examine the monuments is readily obtained by applying to the Antiquities Service, addressed through the Ministry of Education.

As part of the work of the Archaeological Service established under the Archaeology Law of 1930, the more important buildings have been made National Monuments and are maintained by His Imperial Īrānian Majesty's Ministry of Education and Pious Foundations. Several hundred sites and monuments have been catalogued and photographed by the Antiquities Service, excellent bibliographies have been assembled for each monument, a large corpus of inscriptions has been collected, and many architectural plans have been drawn. This scholarly work carried on in modest obscurity by M. André Godard, the Director of the Archaeological Service and by Mme. Yedda Godard, can at last be appraised in the pages of *Athār-e Īrān*, the newly launched Annals of the Service.

The number of unpublished buildings is so great and the opportunity for their examination is now so favorable that a temptation exists to rush up and down the country "discovering" monuments, snapping photographs in quantity, and attempting to "spot" dates. But it would appear that a greater contribution can be made to this study if the present generation, at least, confine their efforts to descriptive monographs, to the end that eventual conclusions may be based on accurate information from the relatively few remaining monuments, combined with that from historical sources. To this endeavor, the writer has addressed his efforts. If the documentation is far from complete, indulgence is requested on the ground that these articles are field reports written without access to many books. Further, if the monuments selected are not each heralded as the "supreme example" of Īrānian Art, or if the conclusions do not always go further than the presented facts warrant, the writer begs that he not be held lacking in imagination.

To His Imperial Īrānian Majesty's Government, and to His Excellency, Ali-Asghar Khān Hikmat, Minister of Education, I offer my sincere thanks for facilities freely placed at my disposal. To M. André Godard, Director of the Archaeological Service, my gratitude for innumerable professional courtesies and scholarly assistance, only a small portion of which can be acknowledged by foot-notes. To the Committee on Fellowships and Grants of the American Council of Learned Societies, under which I have the honor to be a Research Fellow, my gratitude for having made the expedition possible by grants of the larger part of the necessary funds.

² G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London, 1872, I, p. 299.

³ A. V. Williams Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, New York, 1911, pp. 128 ff; cf. Curzon, *op. cit.*, I, p. 293.

by the new Mashhad road, the last six being a branch to the north. As early as 189 H. the district was governed under the name of *Dambāwand*.⁴ According to Mustawfi, the village and district were also called *Pishyān*. Once the village was in Ṭabaristān, later in 'Irāk 'Adjamī, and today it is in the province of Teheran. Demāwend's reputation for great antiquity is supported by its splendid location in a cool mountain valley abundantly watered by two rivers which meet in the village just below the mound on which is situated the Masdjid-i Djum'a.

LITERATURE

Le Strange gives a bibliography⁵ for early Arabic travellers to this region. In 1815 James Morier passed through Demāwend and sketched the village from the north, showing the manār.⁶ Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh stopped here in 1883, while on his second Mashhad pilgrimage; a member of his suite, Ṣanī' al-Dawla, described the Masdjid-i Djum'a and other buildings⁷ in detail for His Majesty's journal,⁸ leaving valuable documents.

METHOD OF STUDY

The writer visited the building on June 23, 1934, again from April 30th to May 7th, 1935, and again on June 26th, 1935. The following studies were made by the writer in person: the plan was surveyed with a Zeiss IV theolodite, the traverse involving 25 turning points. From this grid, the building was measured by off-sets, using a 100 m. and shorter tapes. The plan, on which over 600 measurements are recorded, was drawn on the spot to the scale of 1 : 50, later traced, and later checked by examination with the monument. No floor levels were taken, nor were soundings made. The building was photographed on about 75 negatives. Plumb-bobs were suspended for inclusion in photographs, to indicate the list of piers. The inscriptions, save recent gravestones, were recorded by rubbings and/or photographs.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION, PRESENT STATE

The mosque is a free standing building in a conspicuous position on a gravel hill in the center of the village. The exterior (*Fig. 1*) is a mud-plastered wall. The present flat roof of camel-thorn and loam is like the other roofs of the village. A truncated, cylindrical,

⁴ E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam*, Hanover, 1927, p. 44; see M. Streck "Demāwend" in *Encyclopedia of Islam* for other variants.

⁵ G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 371-2; cf. C. A. C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique historique et littéraire de la Perse*, Paris, 1861, pp. 224-25 and 236-39.

⁶ J. Morier, *A Second Journey Through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, London, 1818, p. 354 and Pl. XV.

The ancient unhewn stonework described by the Comte A. de Gobineau, in his *Histoire des Perses*, Paris, 1869, I, p. 31, is evidently one of the vertical limestone faults which cross this region. Several books are not available to me in Isfahān.

⁷ The writer has studied the other monuments of the village and surroundings, with the intention to publish in the near future.

⁸ Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ṣanī' al-Dawla, *Maṭla' al-Shams* (in Persian), Teheran, 1301, pp. 9-13.

baked brick manār rises near the east corner. Entering through the small, late iwān at the north corner, it is evident that the plan is neither typical of Khorāsān, nor does it belong to Māzandarān. The central, rectangular ṣaḥn is surrounded on three sides by riwāks *B*, *C*, and *D*. In the center of the ṣaḥn is an ablutions ḥaūḍ and a deep well. On the qibla side (*Fig. 2*), three arches, the center one slightly wider and higher, open into the ḥarām *B*. This ḥarām is of five longitudinal aisles. Six cylindrical piers flank the wider central aisle, while elsewhere cruciform or rectangular piers are used. The piers support arcades parallel to the qibla. The weighted walls of these arches, broken off at ca. 1 m. above the crowns, carry the wood joists of the present roof.

Returning to the ṣaḥn, a lateral passage *A* to the south leads to an outer doorway. The riwāks *C* and *D* (*Fig. 4*) flanking the ṣaḥn have their facade arches filled with modern mud brick screens, their qibla ends by modern mud brick walls and mihrābs. In the east corner a passage *E*, covered with a late, round, tunnel vault of stone, leads to the manār and to a modern, small, outer doorway. The periphery of the entire building is a curtain wall of cobbles set in loam. The northeast elevation of the ṣaḥn (*Fig. 3*) shows a modern raised ṭālār *G*, its roof supported by wood columns and square, baked brick piers. Stairways at *E* and *F* lead down beneath *G* to a zamastān covered by fourteen square-bayed, domical vaults resting on pointed arches which spring from the square central piers and flat pilaster wall responds; all of soft, badly-baked brick. With the exception of piers 52, 53, and 54 all the structure *G*, northeast of the ṣaḥn is of fairly recent date, and will therefore not be considered in the detailed study below.

PLAN, ORIENTATION

The original plan, apparently preserved in its entirety with the exception of the northeast section *G*, shows the primitive mosque parti of a rectangular ṣaḥn enclosed by riwāks, that on the qibla side being a deeper series of aisles, here parallel to the qibla axis, the central aisle slightly emphasized. The plan takes the general form of a parallelogram, an irregularity not unusual in early mosques of this type.⁹ The position of an impost at pier 48 indicates that the northeast side *G* of the ṣaḥn was originally a riwāk, but no further vestiges of it remain save the piers 52, 53, and 54. It may have been the same width as the passage *F*, which, with the passage *E*, would have served as vestibules. A high springing at pier 25 shows that the passage *A* was part of the original scheme. The opening in pier 6 was doubtless for a stairway to the roof.¹⁰ The principal mihrāb is off axis, to the left.¹¹ This peculiarity is found also in the Tārī-Khāneh, Damghān (*Fig. 30*), where the niche only

⁹ Cf. K. A. C. Creswell, "La Mosquée de 'Amru," in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, XXXII, Le Caire, 1932, Fig. 6.

¹⁰ The stairway in a corner pier is found in the Masdjid-i Djum'a, Warāmin (722 H. and later) but does not show in the inaccurate plan of Schulz in F.

Sarre's *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin, 1909, II, p. 61.

¹¹ To make room for the minbar, of course. This is also found in the Masdjid-i Djum'a, Muḥammadiyah, and it accounts for the uneven panels of decoration on the mihrāb of the Masdjid-i Djum'a at Warāmin.

remains. The usual sunken stance for the *īmām* is missing. The position of the *manār*, on axis with the entrance, occurs likewise in the *Tāri-Khāneh*. Other than a window between piers 6 and 12 and three openings in the passage *A*, the lighting is from the *şaḥn*. Further details of the plan will be discussed in the analysis of its component units.

Taking the approximate *qibla* as 36° west of true south, the orientation of the mosque is about $27^\circ 30'$ west of true south, an error of ca. $8^\circ 30'$.

CONSTRUCTION, MATERIALS, TECHNIQUES

FLOORS, LEVELS

Except for cobble paving around the *şaḥn* and in the entrance passages *A*, *E*, and *F*, the floors are of loam. In general, the levels are uneven. The levels of *B* and *D* are one step below the pavement, as is the grass plot of the *şaḥn*, whereas the present level of *C* is three steps above it.

SUPPORT AND COVERING

The support was by baked brick piers, the outer wall being a curtain wall.

Piers. Of the fifty-four present piers, twelve are reconstructed.¹² A dado of white *gač* antedates this repair. The six cylindrical piers (*Fig. 8*) rest on plinth bases ca. 20 cm. high. Their *abaci* beams of mortised wood are slightly corbeled. The drums average 1.37 m. in diameter,¹³ and are ca. 2.60 m. high. Other piers, except for the wall piers, which are rectangular in plan, are cruciform, providing responds for the transverse arches. Fourteen of the piers¹⁴ have *mihrābs* (*Figs. 10, 19, and 20*) in their northeast faces. The most developed pier, No. 26 (*Fig. 24*), incorporates engaged colonettes, as do piers 27 and 44. Piers Nos. 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, along the northwest wall of *B* are of a thinner brick. Tie-beams, long since cut away for their wood, were disposed in both directions, bracing the piers at a point above the arch imposts.¹⁵

Arches. The four-centered, stilted arches (*Figs. 5, 6, 7, and 8*) are slightly corbeled. The few that have escaped with only minor repairs¹⁶ are so warped by the settling and listing of the piers that it was found impossible to determine their original profile to any degree of usefulness. The imposts of those of narrower span are raised slightly (*Figs. 7 and 24*). Many arches are partially rebuilt, others are entirely reconstructed.¹⁷ The majority have fascia *archivolts*.

¹² Nos. 2, 3, 28, 32, 33, 36, 37, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47.

¹³ Following are the diameters of other brick piers: *Damghān*, *Tāri-Khāneh* (larger piers) and the Sasanian palace, 1.60 m. (information from M. Godard); *Naiyin*, *Masjd-i Djum'a*, 0.82 m. (author); *Iṣfahān*, *Masjd-i Djum'a*, 0.85 to 0.90 m. (author).

¹⁴ Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, and 30.

¹⁵ The persistence of holes, such as that of *Fig. 24*

and the rough closing of others (*Fig. 6*), suggest that the tie-beams were intended to be permanent. The light beam of *Fig. 8* is modern.

¹⁶ Nos. 4-5, 8-14, 14-20, 20-26, 9-15, 10-16, 16-22, 11-17, 17-23, 23-29, 44-48, 49-50, and 51-52.

¹⁷ Nos. 1-2, 2-3, 5-6, 4-10, 11-12, 17-18, 23-24, 25-26, 26-27, 27-28, 28-29, 29-30, and all those of *C* and *D* save 44-48, 49-50, and 50-51, are reconstructed.

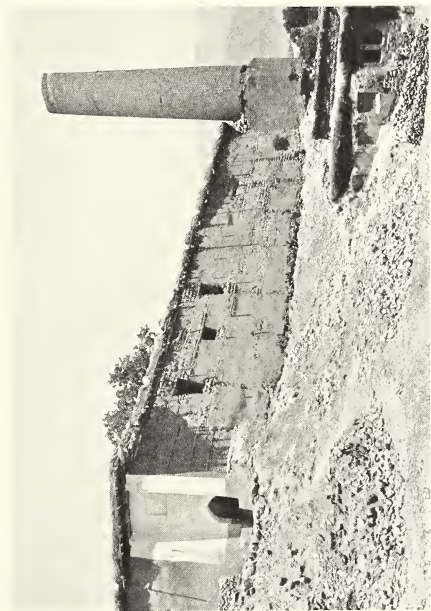


FIG. 1—EXTERIOR, VIEW FROM S.
 PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-95-36



FIG. 2—ŞAHN, KIBLA SIDE, VIEW FROM N.-E.
 PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-13-35



FIG. 3—ŞAHN, RİWAK G, VIEW FROM S.
 PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-13-7



FIG. 4—ŞAHN, RİWAK D, VIEW FROM W.
 PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-45-29



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-65.3

FIG. 5—HARĀM, VIEW FROM N.-W. ALONG KIBLA WALL

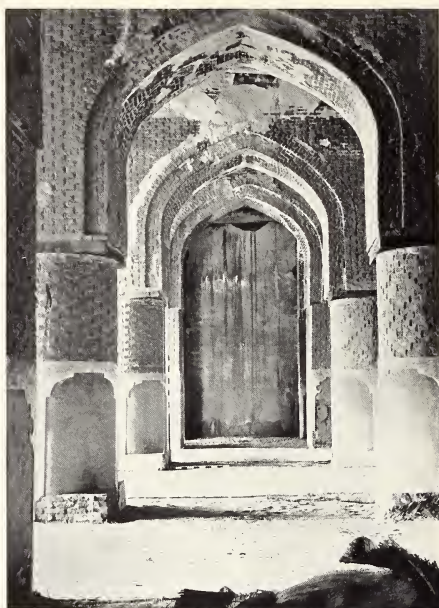


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-65.1

FIG. 6—HARĀM, VIEW FROM N.-W. BETWEEN PIERS 10-16

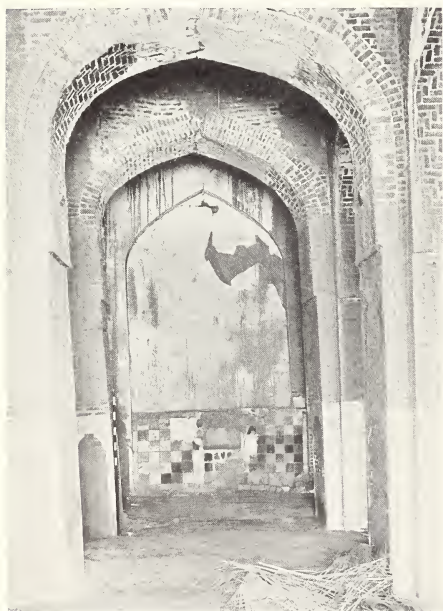


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-65.43

FIG. 7—HARĀM, EXTREME S.-E. AISLE, FROM N.-E.

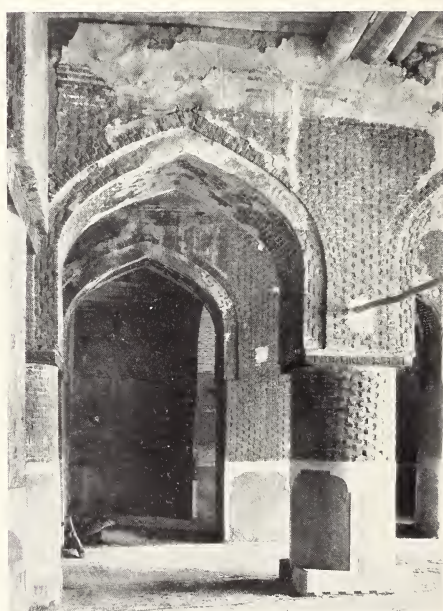


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. 496

FIG. 8—HARĀM, PIER 16 FROM S.-E.



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-65.6

FIG. 9—HARĀM, PRINCIPAL MIHRĀB

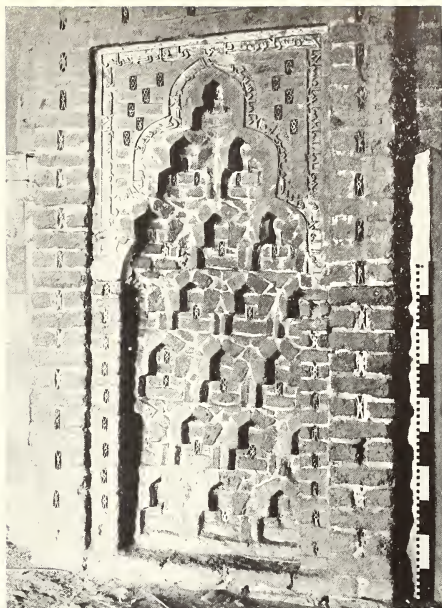


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-65.4

FIG. 10—HARĀM, MIHRĀB IN PIER 5

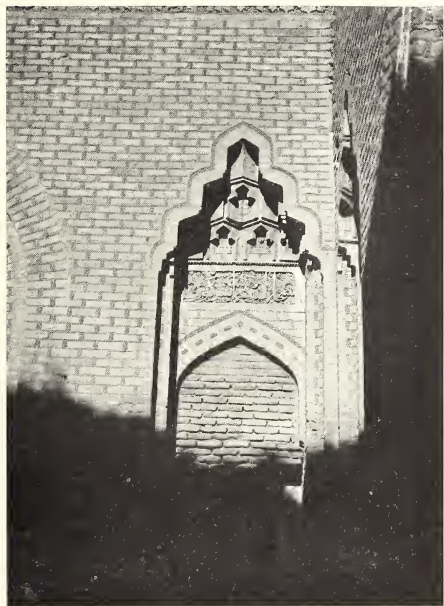


PHOTO. ANDRÉ GODARD

FIG. 11—KAZWĪN, MADRASA HĀIDARĪYA, CORNER NICHE



PHOTO. ANDRÉ GODARD

FIG. 12—GULPĀYAGĀN, MASJID-I DJUM'A, MINOR MIHRĀB



FIG. 13—ĤARĀM, PRINCIPAL MIHRĀB, STALACTITES
PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. 501

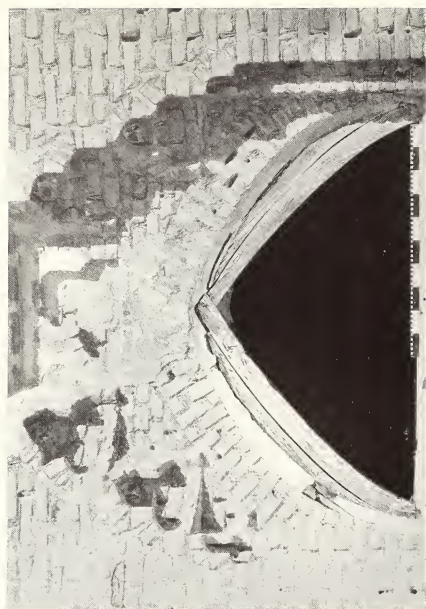


FIG. 14—ĤARĀM, ARCH 47-48, STALACTITE TYMPANUM
PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. 488



FIG. 15—ĤARĀM, PRINCIPAL MIHRĀB, DETAIL OF STALACTITES
PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. 499



FIG. 16—ĤARĀM, ARCH 47-48, DETAIL OF STALACTITES
PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-74.32

Vaults. All covering was by vaults, which have disappeared. Not even the springings remain. Nevertheless the vault forms and dispositions may be determined with some degree of certainty. The ḥarām *B* had its three central aisles covered by as many long, tunnel vaults, parallel to the qibla, and resting on the weighted arcades. The individual bays of the outer aisles (*Fig. 7*) were covered by tunnel vaults transverse to the qibla axis, as were the bays of the riwāks *C* and *D* and the passages *E* and *F*. The passage *A* probably had a longitudinal tunnel vault, possibly with transverse, salient, flat ribs springing from the piers. The profiles of these vaults could have been either pointed, or upright semi-elliptical,¹⁸ both forms (and the innumerable midforms) persisting in Īrān to the present day. These tunnel vaults were of rings of baked brick, laid edge to edge, the joints radial to the vault axis, the beds normal to the axis and inclined slightly¹⁹ against the ṣāhn walls, or in the case of the extreme side aisles of *B* (*Fig. 7*), towards the qibla axis. There is no indication for a dome.

WALLS

The construction of the vaults, with their slight, lateral thrusts directed towards the center of the building, and the support concentrated on piers, explains why the outer closure needed to be only a curtain wall.²⁰ Doubtless this thick wall has been rebuilt several times. At present, it is composed of coursed cobbles laid in loam. Both faces are sharply battered, and are plastered with kāh-gil (broken straw and clay). On the interior are remains of a dado revetment ca. 1.50 m. high, of baked brick laid in herring-bone bond. On the qibla side (*Fig. 7*) this revetment was later replaced or covered with wretched, square, glazed tiles.

MANĀR

In plan, the manār is semi-detached, but it is without structural connection with the mosque. It is lacking decoration or inscription. It is solidly built of baked brick (*Figs. 25* and *26*) set in hard, white, lime mortar. From a foundation of rubble stone, partially exposed, the square plinth rises to a height of 4.95 m. A chain of four wood beams, disposed in a square, which finished the coping of the plinth, no longer exists. Rising tangent from the sides of the plinth (i.e., with a base diameter of 3.24 m.) the cylindrical shaft tapers slightly to its present top diameter of 3.90 m. The cylinder is broken off 14.55 m. above the plinth. The shaft is entered from the passage *E*. The single²¹ spiral stairway rises counter-clockwise in plan. The treads radiate from a tapering, square core. The risers, 80 of which

¹⁸ I use the term "upright semi-elliptical" to denote a division of the ellipse across the long (foci) axis (as at Ctesiphon). The term *parabolic*, often applied to these contours, is generally a misnomer.

¹⁹ This method of vault construction, of great antiquity in Egypt and Assyria, became standard practice in Īrān under the Sasanidae, and persists to this day. K. A. C. Creswell gives an extensive bibliography in *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1932, Vol. I, p. 349,

note 1; but see E. Herzfeld, "Khorasan" in *Der Islam*, 1921, XI, p. 158.

²⁰ A curtain wall was employed under similar circumstances along the flanks of the Masjd-i Djum'a, Warāmin.

²¹ Examples of double stairway: manār of the Masjd-i Maidān, Sāwa; Manār Khwādja 'Alam, Isfāhān (collapsed Dec. 9, 1934). The author will shortly publish the manārs of Isfāhān in *Athār-e Īrān*.

exist, are 3 to 4 courses high. They do not have the usual coping of wood, and radiate 8 to each quadrant. The treads are narrow. Due to this, and to the height (3.90 m.), of the spiral, flat, corbel-vaulted ceiling, the stairway is dangerous. The shell of the cylinder is 0.62 m. thick at its base and 0.44 m. thick at its present top. Splayed, slit windows give light. An earthquake shock has slightly side-slipped and rotated an upper section of the shaft. A second access opening, at the roof level, was broken through later.

BRICKWORK

The mud brick 24 cm. square by 5 cm. thick are all modern. They are laid in mud mortar, and will not be considered further. The baked brick are of the usual square shape. With the exception noted of the later piers and vaults of *G*, their quality is good.

BAKED BRICK DIMENSIONS ²²

Length	Width	Thickness	Height of 10 courses (plus 1 joint)	Horizontal joints (average)	Vertical joints	Position in building
44. cm.	?	7.5 cm.	Manār, plinth, lower courses.
29. cm.	29. cm.	6.5 cm.	82. cm.	1.7 cm.	ca. 1.7 cm.	Manār, plinth.
25. cm.	25. cm.	5.5 cm.	77. cm.	2.2 cm.	8.5 to 10 cm.	Manār, shaft, exterior.
20.5 cm.	20.5 cm.	5.5 cm.	66. cm.	1.1 cm.	2.5 to 3. cm.	Piers 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, etc. (37 in all).
18. cm.	18. cm.	3.5 cm.	47. cm.	1.2 cm.	2. to 2.5 cm.	Piers 6, 12, 18, 24, 30.
21.5 cm.	21.5 cm.	5.5 cm.	68. cm.	1.3 cm.	0.2 to 1.0 cm.	Piers (reconstructed) 2, 3, 28, 32, 33, 36, 37, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47.

The manār shaft shows a treatment of vertical joints which is both structural and decorative. These depressed joints begin fairly wide (8.5 to 10 cm.), and in order to keep the bond vertical, gradually contract as the courses rise. Each depression is backed by a clipped brick concealed by mortar decorated with a vertical stroke of four fingers (*Fig. 25*). With the exception of the lime putty mortar of the manār, the bricks are laid in white gypsum (gač). The two round piers 9 and 10 (*Figs. 5 and 6*) nearest the kibla wall, have their shafts laid in diapers of herring-bone, with occasional carved gač plugs. The remaining piers are of baked brick laid prone, and save for those which have been reconstructed, their vertical joints are ornamented by gač plugs of the type illustrated in *Figs. 10 and 22*.²³

MIḤRĀBS

The principal miḥrāb (*Fig. 9*) was extensively denatured, apparently in the time of Faṭḥ-ʿAlī-Shāh, to judge by the rectangular frame enclosing clumsy spandrels of inferior blue and white square tiles above a tympanum of red and white painted imitation brick. *Fig. 13* shows what remains of the original miḥrāb. It was executed in baked brick cut to small dimensions, with carved gač joints. In plan the niche is half octagonal; its head is steep in profile and is filled with four tiers of tri-lobed over-riding stalactites of triangular plan. The central unit of the second tier (*Fig. 15*) is the same form as the squinches of

²² Average of ten.

²³ The gač plugs of piers Nos. 15 and 16 (*Fig. 18*) are exceptions.

Dawāzdah Īmām, Yazd (429 H. inscr.), and of the axial domes²⁴ of the Masġjid-i Djum'a, Isfahān, that is: the upper of the three lobes is a pointed tunnel vault supported at the forward springing by the apices of the two spherical triangles which form the lower lobes. The mihrāb niche is flanked by colonettes engaged in a moulded architrave which must have continued to form a pointed blind arch, possibly enclosed by an upright, rectangular frame.

ORNAMENT

Brick Bonding. The two round piers nearest the mihrāb, Nos. 9 and 10, have their shafts laid in diaper work (Figs. 5, 6, 27). Other than these, the dado, and the stalactite work, the decorative brickwork is found in the arches, the soffits and archivolts of which are laid in herring-bone. Pier 27 shows a star of two rotated squares (Fig. 22) in a field bordered by brick cut in squares. This star, a well known motif,²⁵ is found in the soffits of arches 9-15 and 10-16. Another example in brick is on the manār of the Masġjid-i Maidān, Sāwa (453 H. inscr.) (Fig. 23), where the gač decoration has fallen out.

Engaged Colonettes. The engaged colonettes of the mihrāb have been remarked. This feature is also preserved on pier 26 (Fig. 24), and on piers 27 and 44, which would indicate that all the original pier shafts of the ṣaḥn had colonettes disposed in both their front corners.²⁶

Stalactites. The stalactites are found in the principal mihrāb (Figs. 13 and 15), in the minor mihrābs (Figs. 10, 19, and 20), and as tympani of the arches 44-48 (Figs. 14 and 16) and 45-49, the last fragmentary. These stalactites are integral with the structure, not suspended shells as in most Mongol and later work. In all the original minor mihrābs save Fig. 10 the brickwork has been plastered over, but the forms of the stalactites are preserved, and show them to be of the same family as those of the principal mihrāb, previously discussed. The stalactites of Figs. 14 and 16 are, however, a variant. Their cusps are salient and pendent, and each trefoil rests on a corbel the plan of which is an arc inscribed in a right angle. Comparisons of the Demāwend stalactite niches with those of the

²⁴ Credit must go to E. Diez for first publishing the small dome squinch (481 H. inscr.) in his *Persien; Islamische Baukunst in Churāsān*, Hagen, 1923, Pl. 27. Cf. A. Gabriel, *op. cit.* Figs. 16, 17.

²⁵ See E. Cohn-Wiener, *Turan*, Berlin, 1930, Pls. XI, XIV, XL, and LXXV. Cf. E. Herzfeld, *Der Wand-schmuck der Bauten von Samarra*, Vol. I in series: *Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, Berlin, 1923; Orn. 221 and 222, p. 161; Orn. 283b, p. 226; Orn. 283a, p. 227.

²⁶ It is hardly necessary to observe that these colonettes were purely decorative and that pier 26 therefore cannot be considered as having a cruciform, clustered shaft in the Gothic sense. The history of the engaged colonette in Islamic architecture offers a subject for some future monograph. Its decorative use on the

Ctesiphon facade, on a capital at Tāq-i Bustān, and a clumsy structural attempt in the Sarvistan side galleries indicate that it was a well established motif under the Sasanidae. Possibly it was brought to Īrān again, by the Arabs, as part of the pired mosque plan. At any rate, it is found in piers in the Masġjid-i Djum'a, Naiyin, and in the Masġjid-i Djum'a, Isfahān. To the original disposition flanking a niche or arch belong the examples at Demāwend. In this form it was to have a long Īrānian history, especially with the mihrāb niche and the iwān, in the latter degenerating under the Timurids and Ṣafawids into a continuous rope moulding resting on the vases which had originally been the cubical capitals.

Haidariyeh Madrasa at Kazwīn (*Fig. 11*), and of the Seldjūk Masdjid-i Djum'a, Gulpāyā-gān ²⁷ (*Fig. 12*) show them to be of the same general character.

Carved Gač. The carved gač (gypsum) is so closely incorporated in the brickwork that its differentiation as ornament is arbitrary. Two types of carved gač plugs are used to decorate the rising joints; a simple type, shown in *Figs. 10, 22, and 27*; a more complex type shown in *Fig. 18*; and an involved type shown in *Figs. 15 and 27*. These last two examples show the original gač astragal tucking of the joints, a refinement which through re-pointing, has disappeared in most places. There are carved gač octagonal panels in the soffit of arch 9-15 (*Fig. 21*) and of arch 10-16 (*Fig. 28*). In each of these soffits there is also a large eight pointed star of sunken brick filled with the same simple stylised carved gač vine in flat relief. Another similar star is on pier 27 (*Fig. 22*), here surrounded by a border of cut brick squares set in carved gač. The designs in the fields of the octagonal panels are either pitted geometric (*Fig. 28*) or radiating, stylised naturalistic (*Fig. 21*), the latter of a sort with the peonias in the inscription of *Fig. 20*.²⁸

Polychromy. The background of the white carved gač of the soffits of arch 9-15 (*Fig. 21*) and arch 10-16 (*Fig. 28*) is painted in distemper, a bright blue.

Faïence. The square, glazed tile are confined to the kibla wall dado (*Fig. 7*) and the principal mihrāb (*Fig. 9*). These Šafawid and Qādjar additions, mixed and broken, lack artistic or historic interest.

Woodwork. With the exception of the wood abaci of the six cylindrical piers, the original woodwork, has been removed. The north and south doorways each have a pair of carved doors of scant artistic importance, their inscriptions mutilated, their period evidently late Šafawid. The mutilated, unscripted, undecorated minbar (*Fig. 5*) is of no great antiquity.

Inscriptions. The writer wishes to record his gratitude to Mme. Yedda Godard, who has kindly consented to discuss the epigraphy.

The wood abaci of piers 9 and 10 were later inscribed on all four faces, that of pier 16 on one face only (*Fig. 18*). Another inscription, carved in a wood impost of pier 3, was stolen ca. 1930.²⁹ The two inscriptions on wood doors have been mentioned. There is a mutilated kufi inscription carved in a gač panel at the impost of pier 4 (*Fig. 17*); a kufi inscription carved in the gač spandrels of the mihrāb in pier 5 (*Fig. 10*); a kufi inscription carved

²⁷ Built by (inscr.) Muḥammad b. Malikšah (398-511 H.). I have to thank M. Godard for this information, and for the photographs, *Figs. 11 and 12*.

²⁸ See my "Imām-zāde Karrār at Buzūn, a Dated Seldjūk Ruin" in *Archaeologischen Mitteilungen aus Iran*, Berlin, 1935, VII, 2/3, p. 71 and *Fig. 8*.

²⁹ Under curious circumstances. The villagers claim it was taken by persons representing themselves as foreign archaeologists interested in photographing the building. If it appears in the trade it can be identified with

certainly, as the inscription had been recorded by Sanī' al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, p. 12, which I translate: "The builder of this pier after destruction by earthquake, Ḥājjdī Mirzā 'Alī b. the late Ḥājjdī 'Alī Bābā. Written by the slave of evil and sin, Ismā'il b. Muzaḥfar al Qāzī. 'Verily, there is a river of milk in Paradise, for 'Alī, Ḥusain and Ḥasān.' The handiwork of Ustād Muḥammad Muḥim b. Ustād Ibrāhīm. In 1081 occurred the repair of this pier, in the reign of Abū Muzaḥfar Sulṭān Shāh Sulaimān al Ḥusain al Mūsawī al Šafawī."

in gač above the mihrāb in pier 12 (*Fig. 19*); a kūfī inscription carved in gač above the mihrāb in pier 18 (*Fig. 20*); and in the walls of the north entrance a dozen gravestones, one recording the great plague of 1247 H. (1831–2 A.D.), and there is also a fermān of Shāh 'Abbās I, likewise in stone. There is no faience inscription save a block kūfī vertical panel, Ṣafawid or later, of no interest, between pier 3 and the principal mihrāb, executed in lapis and white, glazed cuniform brick. In pier 3 is the matrix of a square tile, said to have been inscribed, that was stolen along with the wood panel directly below it.³⁰

DATING

In order to place this building in its historical background, it is necessary to review briefly the state of architecture in Īrān before the Islamic invasion, to reconstruct the mosque plan introduced by the Arabs, and to contrast this with the later and different Seldjūq mosque form which was destined to become the Īrānian Islamic style. Professor E. Herzfeld has shown how the Achaemenid *tacara* (dwelling house) of a square, hypostyle room behind a fore-hall of columns in antae, became under the Sasanidae, a square domed apartment with a tunnel vaulted iwān before it, while in private architecture, the wood column of the Median house persisted as the support for the modern tālār.³¹ The Sasanidae, after a few attempts,^{31a} gave up the struggle to get the weight of their domes and vaults off the thick walls, with the results that the areas of their rooms were limited and their architecture remained dormant through four centuries.

The early congregational mosque plan, of a court surrounded by roofed areas supported on wood or stone columns, had the advantages that it was easily constructed, it held a great number of the faithful, and it could easily be enlarged as the number of converts increased. In Īrān, the invaders found no architecture to their purpose save the elements of wood columns³² and clay walls and roofs, which were, indeed, as much as they had known in Arabia. As for the plan, it was easily laid out, and showed no radical changes, but in the following three centuries the support and covering were to undergo refinements. For instance, in the mosque of Īrānshahr (Nīshāpūr), the wood columns of the time of Abū Muslim, ca. 136 H., were replaced in the time of 'Amr b. al-Laiṭh, 265–287 H., by round brick piers.³³ Arches on piers, which had not been used for the earliest mosques in 'Irāq or Persia,³⁴ were employed

³⁰ See previous note. The inscription may have been that recorded by Sanī' al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, p. 11, which I translate: "The asker of good, and hopeful. Oh God! let him attain his hope! The endeavor of Ḥādjdjī Sulṭān Maḥmūd, in the year 1030."

³¹ Cf. E. Herzfeld, "Khorasan," pp. 132–3 and 156.

^{31a} See the plan of the palace near Damghān, unearthed in 1931 by Dr. E. Schmidt (*Schmidt, op. cit.*, note 37 *infra*, Pl. CLVII). The Damghān palace is the most advanced Sasanian example of piers support that has come to my attention. The section drawing of

I. Gerasimoff (Pl. CLXVIII) showing pointed arches and the barrel vault springing from lintels, illustrates little more than the doubtful economy of employing on an expedition architects unfamiliar with the history of the building styles that may be encountered. Dr. Schmidt tells me that this building will be re-studied by Dr. Fiske Kimball.

³² Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

³³ al-Makḍisī, ed. de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, III, p. 316.

³⁴ K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, p. 411.

in the East at latest by the third century H., as is known from Sāmarrā. Once the arcades were on the piers, parallel tunnel vaults were possible, and the monumental architecture of Īrān is again vaulted, *but now on concentrated supports*. That this significant development antedates the Demāwend mosque by some years, is seen by comparison with the clumsy Tāri-Khāneh, which must have been close to the beginning of this union of vaults and piers.

Under the Seldjūks, the dome was restored, and in its dominating axial position, the high iwān was replaced before it and repeated in the other ṣaḥn facades, and the hitherto monotonous cellular piers plan was organised along the ḳibla axis. Thus the Islamic architectural style of Īrān was suddenly and completely developed, with elements of scale and spatial composition. Wonderful as that phenomenon was, it would have been impossible of attainment without the requirements of the Arabic piers mosque plan, the Hellenistic arches on columns, and the technique of elastic vaults of brick laid without centering in quick-setting mortar, in a profile which obviated or minimized lateral thrusts.³⁵

To return to the Demāwend mosque. It is now evident that it belongs to the intermediate stage of piers, vaulted mosque of primitive plan. Only three other undoubted examples of this type have yet been found in Īrān.³⁶ The earliest may be the Tāri-Khāneh at Damghān³⁷ (Fig. 30). The others are the Masjdīd-i Djum'a at Naiyin (Fig. 29), first studied in 1912 by Mons. H. Viollet,³⁸ and the pre-iwān state (if such existed), of the Masjdīd-i Djum'a, Iṣfahān.³⁹ As for the engaged colonettes, stalactites, carved gač, and decorative brickwork, here recognised as Seldjūk, it must be remembered that Demāwend has always been a provincial mountain village, close to that part of Īrān known for its resistance to invasion. Removed from the main travel routes, the local builders were not able to follow innovations closely. A lag behind style trends is therefore to be expected, together with a rustic simplicity in their interpretation, which is the story of mountain art in all

³⁵ Professor Herzfeld thinks that this type of vault was non-Īrānian, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-9.

³⁶ The foundations of a building discovered in 1934 by Dr. E. Schmidt under the citadel at Rayy are not determinate at this stage of the excavations.

³⁷ E. Herzfeld, "Reisebericht," *ZDMG*, n. f. vol. V, Berlin, 1926. E. F. Schmidt, "Tepe Hissar Excavations 1931," in *Museum Journal*, Philadelphia, 1933, XXIII, No. 4, p. 325, only a passing reference, unfortunately. André Godard, *De Kasr-e Shirin a Meshhed et a Tus* (Itinéraire No. 1), *Publications du Service archeologique de la Perse*, Teheran, September, 1934, pp. 37-41. Cf. A. Godard, "Le Tāri Khānē de Damghān" in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XII, December, 1934, pp. 225-35. I have to thank M. Godard for his plan, Fig. 30. Cf. *American Journal of Semetic Languages* . . . , L, No. 3, April, 1934, p. 199; and LI, No. 3, April, 1935, p. 211.

³⁸ H. Viollet and S. Flury, "Un Monument des Premiers Siècles de l'Hégire en Perse," *Syria*, II, 1921,

pp. 226-234 and 305-316; S. Flury, "La Mosquée de Nayin," *Syria*, XI, 1930, pp. 43-58; cf. A. Godard, *op. cit.* I have to thank M. Godard for his plan, Fig. 29.

³⁹ The plan, lacking the northwest section, was inaccurately drawn in the mode of his time by P. Coste, *Monuments Modernes de la Perse*, Paris, 1867, Pl. IV; E. Beaudoin drew a small sketch plan from that of Coste, completing the northwest section, correcting some errors and repeating others, "Ispahan sous les grands chahs," in *Urbanisme*, Paris, January, 1933, Vol. II, No. 10, p. 48; A. Gabriel redrew Beaudoin's sketch plan at slightly larger scale, "Le Masjdīd-i Djum'a d'Iṣfahān" in *Ars Islamica*, 1935, II, 1, p. 8. About 1932 E. Schroeder made a complete plan, unfortunately at minute scale and without indication of materials or periods, which remains unpublished. It is left for some architect versed in Islamic Architecture to make a scientific plan of this important monument. For text cf. Ṣani' al-Dawla, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

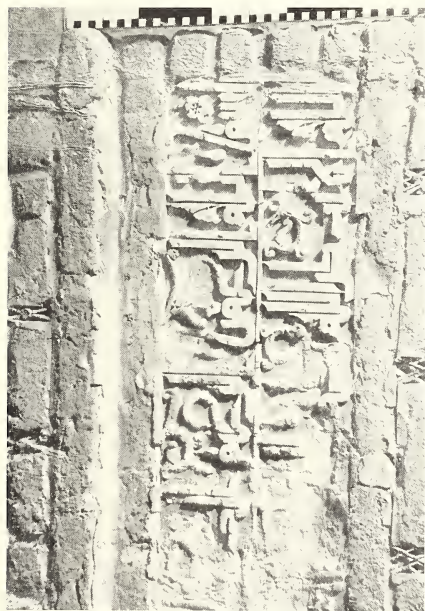


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. 508

FIG. 17—HARĀM, PIER 4, INSCRIPTION, CARVED GATCH



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. 514

FIG. 18—HARĀM, PIER 16, INSCRIPTION ON WOOD ABACUS

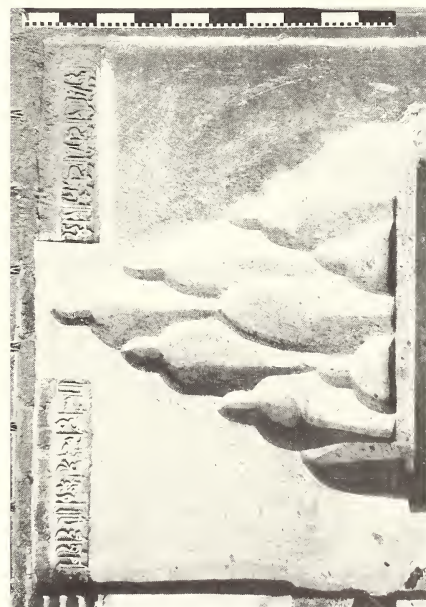


PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. 522

FIG. 19—HARĀM, PIER 12, MIHRĀB, CARVED GATCH OVER BRICK



PHOTO. M. B. SMITH, NEG. 519

FIG. 20—HARĀM, PIER 18, MIHRĀB, CARVED GATCH OVER BRICK



PHOTO M. B. SMITH, NEG. 494

FIG. 21—HARĀM, ARCH 9-15, INTRADOS, CARVED GATCH IN BRICKWORK

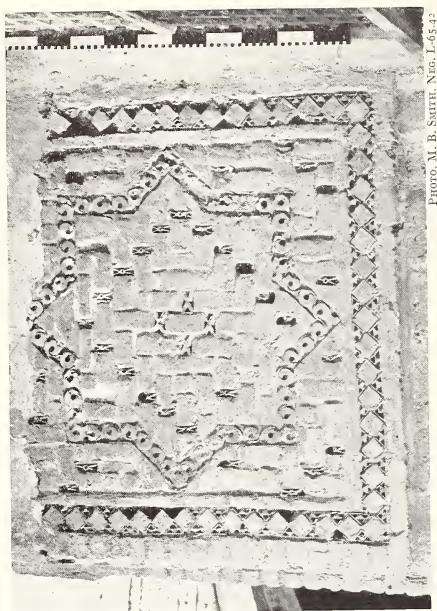


PHOTO M. B. SMITH, NEG. 146345

FIG. 22—ŞAHN, PIER 27, GATCH ORNAMENT, CARVED *in situ*



PHOTO M. B. SMITH, NEG. 1-8,3

FIG. 23—SĀWA, MANĀR OF MASJID-I MAIDAN, DETAIL

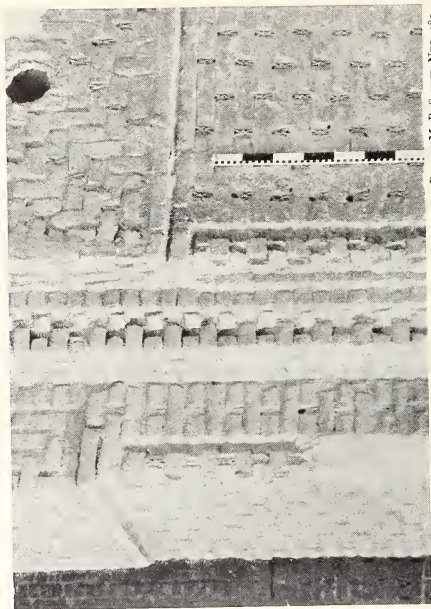


PHOTO M. B. SMITH, NEG. 489

FIG. 24—ŞAHN, PIER 26, DETAIL AT IMPOSTS OF ARCHES

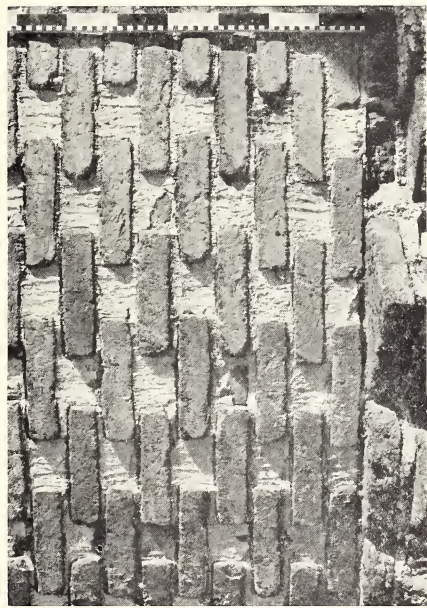


FIG. 25—MANĀR, BRICKWORK AT BASE OF SHAFT
 PHOTO M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-63.8



FIG. 26—MANĀR, BRICKWORK OF PLINTH
 PHOTO M. B. SMITH, NEG. L-13.10

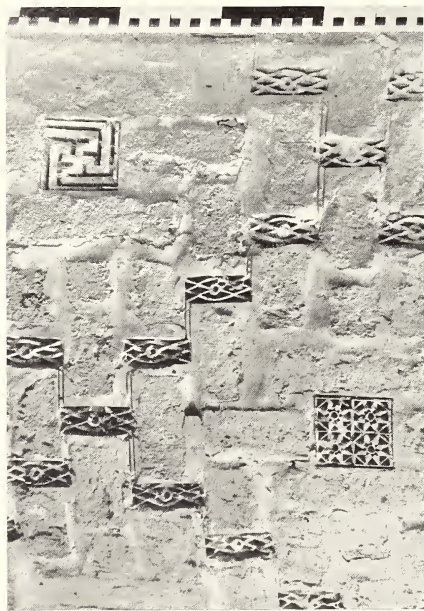
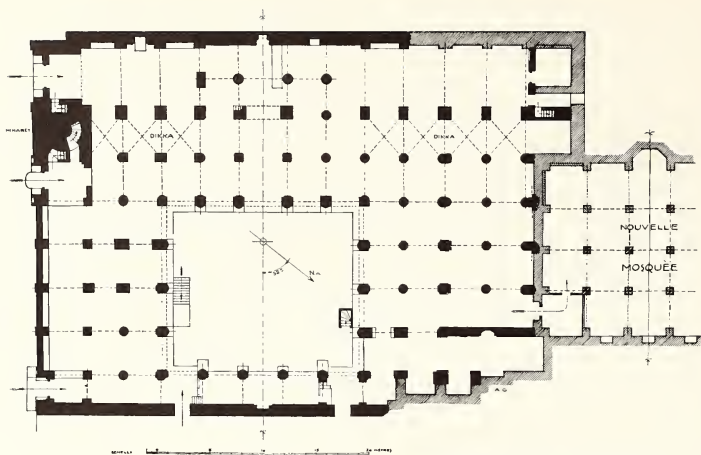


FIG. 27—HARĀM, PIER 10, DETAIL OF GATCH PLUGS
 PHOTO M. B. SMITH, NEG. 497

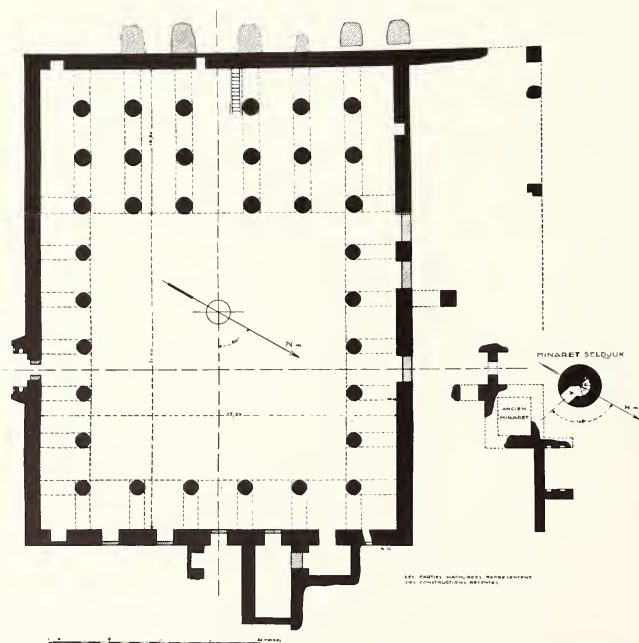


FIG. 28—HARĀM, ARCH 10-10, CARVED GATCH IN INTRADOS
 PHOTO M. B. SMITH, NEG. 495



MEASURED AND DRAWN BY ANDRÉ GODARD

FIG. 20—NAIVIN, MASJID-I DJUM'A, PLAN AT SCALE OF 1 : 500



MEASURED AND DRAWN BY ANDRÉ GODARD

FIG. 30—DĀMGHĀN, MASJID-I ĆIHIL SUTUN (TĀRĪ KHĀNEH), PLAN AT SCALE OF 1 : 500

countries and periods. The problem at Demāwend may have been that of building from the foundations of a primitive mosque destroyed by one of the earthquakes for which this region is notorious. The builders did not yet understand the spirit of the new Seldjūq style, they saw it objectively, probably at Rayy, and copied what they saw, the ornament. The puzzling incongruities of plan and ornament are now made clear. The building can therefore be placed not later than the end of the V century H., possibly a little earlier.

CHRONOLOGY

Vth c. A.H.	XIth c. A.D.	Inscriptions	Pier 4, <i>Fig. 17</i> ; Pier 12, <i>Fig. 19</i> ; Pier 18, <i>Fig. 20</i> ; Pier 5, <i>Fig. 10</i> . Original construction, including manār.
812	1409/10	Inscription	Pier 10, first repair.
927	1520/21	Inscription	Pier 9, second repair, <i>Shāh</i> Ismā'il Šafawī.
.....	Inscription	Pier 16, <i>khesht</i> maker, third repair.
1024, <i>Shā'bān</i>	1615, July–August	Inscription	Fermān, ³⁹ 'Abbās I Šafawī.
[1030	1620/21]	Inscription	Tiles (non-existent), 'Abbās I Šafawī.
[1081	1669/70]	Inscription	Pier 3, wood impost (stolen), fourth repair, <i>Shāh</i> Sulaimān I.
1097	1685/86	Inscription	Doors at F.
1247	1831/32	Inscription	Gravestone (plague), Fath-'Ali- <i>Shāh</i> Kādjar. (Principal mihrāb renovated, tiles, piers and arches of C and D rebuilt, construction G.)

NOTICE ÉPIGRAPHIQUE

PAR YEDDA GODARD

Les seules inscriptions datées subsistant à la Masġjid-i Djum'a sont celles qui mentionnent des réparations tīmūride et šafawides mais en dehors de celles-ci, il existe des fragments de textes religieux en caractères kufiques qui peuvent apporter quelque lumière sur l'époque de la construction de l'édifice. Ils sont au nombre de quatre, dont trois en style fleuri. Ils ont été exécutés au moment de l'édification de la Masġjid-i Djum'a.

La figure 17 reproduit l'un d'eux: "*Bismillāh al-rahman, al-rahīm*. . ." Y eut-il jamais une date dans la partie détruite de l'inscription? Rien ne peut nous l'assurer; en tous cas, il n'y en a plus trace aujourd'hui. Seule la très belle allure des lettres kufiques peut nous faire penser qu'elles ont été exécutées à l'apogée du style kufique fleuri, c'est à dire au V^e siècle de l'Hégire.

La figure 19 représente au dessus d'une niche, un bandeau en caractères kufiques qui reproduit après le *Bismillāh* . . . , la profession de foi musulmane: لا اله الا الله "Il n'y a d'autre dieu que Dieu," et un mot que je lis مخلصا "en pureté" (je le dis d'un coeur pur), puis الله محمد رسول الله "Muḥammad, prophète de Dieu," et un mot que je lis صادقاً "en sincérité" (je

le dis d'un cœur sincère). Cette formule, rare en épigraphie, se retrouve à Resget sur une tour funéraire du début du V^e siècle, découverte dans les montagnes du Mâzanderân par M. André Godard, directeur du Service archaéologique de l'Iran, et publiée par lui dans *Les Annales du Service*, Tome 1. 1933.

Les caractéristiques épigraphiques des deux inscriptions de Demâwend sont les mêmes; la comparaison des *Bismillâh* des figures 17 et 19 le démontre.

La figure 20 représente, au dessus d'une autre niche, une inscription kufique sur un fond de rinceaux. Le tracé des lettres, quoique très différent, est cependant de la même-époque que celui des deux précédentes inscriptions. Leur forme est à la fois plus simple et plus anguleuse que celle des figures 17 et 19. Le caractère décoratif est donné par le fond de rinceaux et non par les hampes fleuries. Le texte est un *hadîth*: اقبل على صلاتك ولا تكن من الغافلين "Dirige—toi vers la prière et ne sois pas (ne fais pas partie) des négligents."

Enfin, une autre niche est encadrée d'une ligne d'écriture analogue à celle de la figure 20, mais le fond est uni (*Fig. 10*). Le verset 256 de la sûra ii y est cité.

Ces quatre inscriptions, les plus anciennes de l'édifice, appartenant par le style de leurs caractères au V^e siècle de l'hégire et d'autre part, leur emplacement nous assurant qu'elles ont été exécutées lors de la construction du monument, nous pouvons, sans grande chance d'erreur, penser que la Masjdjid-i Djum'a de Demâwend a été édifiée pendant le V^e siècle de l'hégire.

LES TEXTES DE RÉPARATIONS

Des inscriptions sculptées sur bois en caractères naskhî ornent les chapiteaux des colonnes avoisinant le mihrâb. Ces inscriptions, faciles à lire, sont très bien reproduites à la page onze du *Maṭla' al-Shams*.⁴⁰

Colonne No. 10, à droite du mihrâb. Première réparation: "La réparation de cette mosquée bénie, noble et glorieuse, a été ordonnée avec l'aide de Dieu le Très-Haut, et avec Sa belle Assistance. Pour l'amour de Dieu, le Très-Haut, en implorant Sa Satisfaction et en espérant une récompense dans l'autre monde. Dans ce temps, l'illustre, le plus glorieux, celui qui jouit de l'honneur d'approcher les amirs des sultans, Khwadje Yakûb eut comme part (la réparation) de ce monument fortuné avec l'aide de Dieu le Très-Haut. Durant les mois de l'année 812. *Khurde* (?) 'Alî, fils de Faṭḥ Allâh."

Colonne No. 9, à gauche du mihrâb. Deuxième réparation: "Effort le meilleur de Khwadje Muṣṭafâ, fils de Djemâl al-Dîn Tâūsê. Que sa destinée soit la meilleure dans ce monde et dans l'autre. L'écrivain fut Muḥammad Shodjâ'î. Durant les jours du sultan des sultans, Shâh Ismâ'il Şafawî. Que son royaume soit maintenu, daté 927."

Troisième réparation (*Fig. 18*): "Le constructeur des briques du carré est Muḥammad Ra'îs, fils de Nî'mat Allâh. Ouvrage de Djemâl al-Dîn, fils de Maḥmûd, menuisier."

⁴⁰ *Maṭla' al-Shams* de Şanî' al-Dawla. 1301 de l'Hégire.

Le Maṭla' al-Shams signale d'autres textes ayant trait à cette même réparation, après un tremblement de terre, en 1081 sous Shāh Sulaimān le Ṣafawī. Ces inscriptions ont du disparaître car M. M. Bement Smith ne me les a pas communiquées.⁴¹

PORTE F

Ces inscriptions sculptées en relief dans le bois, en caractères "ṭhulṭh" citent des versets du *Kor'ān* et une poésie en langue irannienne, dont la traduction est ceci: "L'année da la peste, moi le fils de Maḥmūd, Mūmīn le menuisier, ayant à renouveler cette porte sainte afin qu'elle me soit une aide pour entrer au paradis, j'ai cherché sagement et avec soin d'un esprit sincère et d'un cœur plein de zèle, comment exprimer sa date. Il me fut répondu: La porte du paradis s'ouvre dans la mosquée." En comptant les lettres de cette dernière partie du vers d'après leur valeur numérique, on obtient le total 1097, date de l'exécution de la porte. En dessous de ce dernier vers, dans le même médaillon, on croit pouvoir lire: "Le pauvre 'Alī Bek fils de Muḥammad l'a écrit." Egalement au centre de la porte à droite sur les côtés du médaillon: "Œuvre de Ustād Moḥammad Kadhem, Naurūz 'Alī fils de Ḥasan, le défunt. Ustad Muḥammad, menuisier." Enfin au bas de la porte à droite se trouve la mention suivante: "L'humble pêcheur Isma'īl fils de Modhaffar le Demāwandī considéra comme heureux pour lui de restaurer cette porte."

⁴¹ See notes 28 and 29, *sopra*. (Ed.)

I. HISTORICAL NOTE

SHĀPŪR IS ONE OF THE LARGEST OF THE LOCATABLE SASANIAN SITES IN MODERN PERSIA. IT is also one of the best known both on account of its easy access from the Bushīr-Shīrāz highway, and its unrivalled series of rock reliefs. It is surprising therefore that it should seem to have played no role in Sasanian history. Ṭabarī, whose second book offers an almost complete resumé of known Sasanian events, does not allude to it before the year 701 A.D., when Shāpūr figures obscurely in an Omayyad campaign.¹ This is the more extraordinary when one considers that the present ruins of Shāpūr cover an area vast for an ancient city, and that it was honoured with the most important artistic monuments of the reign of its founder, Shāpūr the first, a series of reliefs of his triumphs, even fuller than those which he placed outside the ancient Achaemenid city of Iṣṭakhr or Persepolis. The omission appears still stranger when it is recalled that Ṭabarī records the circumstances of the founding of other Sasanian cities, some of which were of minor importance. The city in Fārs was no doubt less important than Djundāi-Shāpūr, founded by the emperor in the rich country near Ahwāz, a capital second to Ctesiphon or Madā'in and perhaps the scene of the captivity of Valerian and the martyrdom of Mānīs. But the rock reliefs surely imply a royal residence, and Shāpūr is known to have been the capital of a Khurrah or county, of which the province of Fārs was divided into five in early Sasanian times. The Khurrahs of Arde-shīr and Shāpūr are mentioned by Ṭabarī as residences of Mihr Narseh, grand vizier of Bahrām Gūr.²

It is not even certain what was the original name of Shāpūr. Iṣṭakhrī in the Xth century calls it Bīshāwūr, and eight hundred years later a corruption of this word appears in Boshāvīr, the name given by the French traveller Thevenot to the Shāpūr river.³ More usually mediaeval writers call it Bīshāpūr and sometimes Nīshāpūr, in which G. Le Strange reads the early Persian form Bih-Shāpūr, the virtue or noble deed of Shāpūr. So also are found Bih-Ardeshīr and Bih-Kobād.⁴ The possibility of an older regional name existing together with a royal or official name is not precluded, and such is still the practice in Persia today. Thus Mustawfī, writing in the XIVth century, would have one believe that Shāpūr was a city dating from mythological times called Dindār, sacked by Alexander the Great and left in ruins apparently for 550 years until refounded by Shāpūr.⁵ The vague chronol-

¹ Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeij, pp. 1124 ff.

² Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden, 1879, p. 111.

³ Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik al-Mamālik*, in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* I, Leyden, 1870, pp. 101-129.

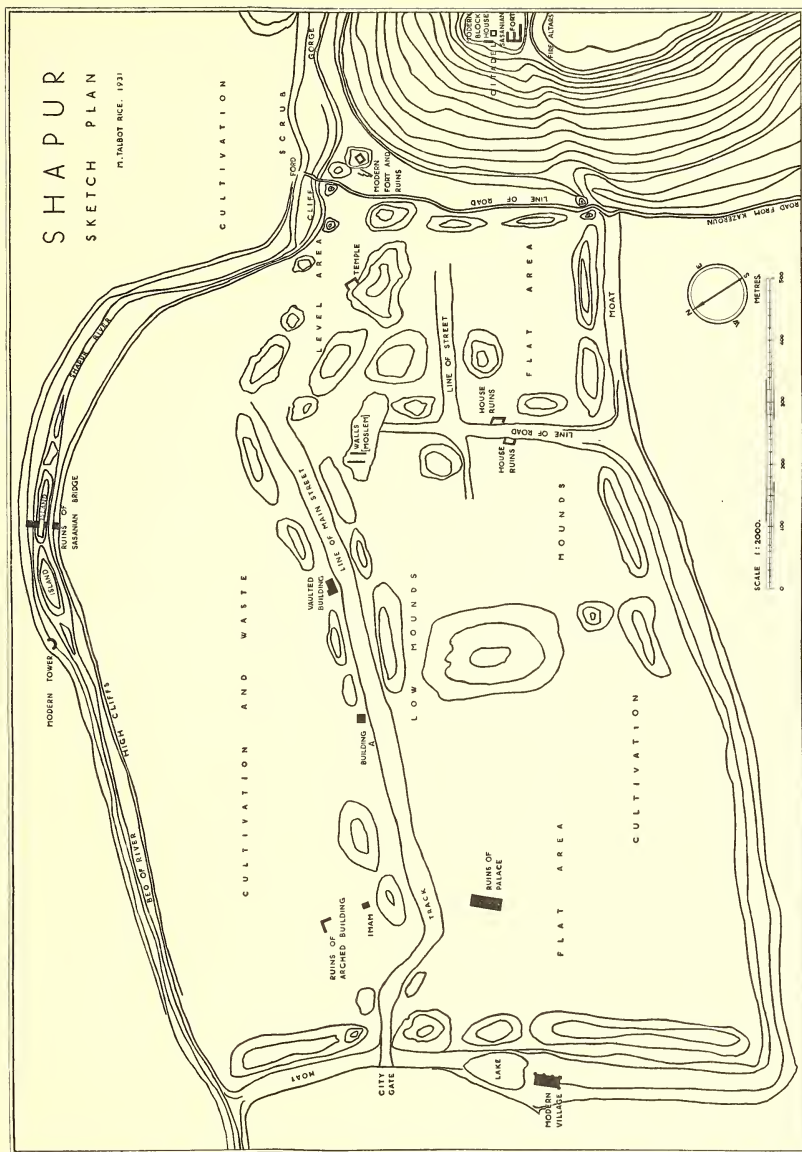
See also G. Curson, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London, 1872, Vol. II, pp. 207-209.

⁴ G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 262 ff.

⁵ Mustawfī al-Ḳāzwinī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, Bombay, 1894, pp. 175 ff.

SHAPUR SKETCH PLAN

PI. THABOT RICE. 1931



ogy of this story is typical of the patriotic Persian legends which Mustawfī liked to revive, but though the facts are dubious, there is no reason to doubt that the place was formerly known as Dindār and there is at least one building (see *infra*) which appears to be earlier than Sasanian times.

Shāpūr the city outlived the Sasanian dynasty by many centuries. Iṣṭakhri⁶ gives some detailed information of its condition in the Xth century. It had four gates which retained their original Sasanian names, and in the middle "a singular hill or eminence like a tower or dome." This can be none other than the Ḳal'e-i Dokhter, a pinnacle of rock surmounted by the still imposing ruins of a Sasanian fortress. This fortress is unmistakably referred to by Muḳaddasī, writing somewhat later than Iṣṭakhri.⁷ In those days it went by the name of Dunbula, perhaps its Sasanian name. Yet how could Iṣṭakhri have described this dome or tower shaped hill as being in the midst of the city, seeing that it was outside the walled enceinte? Either this is worse than ordinary mediaeval inaccuracy, or the town, as then inhabited, had left its walls altogether and now clustered for better security around its ancient protector at the opening of the gorge. The testimony of Ibn Hauḳal, Iṣṭakhri's contemporary and emendator, works somewhat against this view, since he describes Shāpūr as large and populous, comparing it favorably with Iṣṭakhr or Persepolis.⁸ Examination of the surface of modern Shāpūr offers little elucidation of this, for Arab remains mingle with Sasanian at all points, both in the fortress area and in the city proper. The fact that considerable Arab ruins occur at the opposite or Western end of the ruin field agrees with another statement of Muḳaddasī's that there was a Friday Mosque and a Masjdīd al-Khidr, or Elias Mosque, outside the walls.⁹ In this account, written about the year one thousand, we first hear of the town as being mostly in ruins. The inhabitants were migrating to Ḳāzerūn, fifteen miles away, the modern provincial capital. Ḳāzerūn itself existed in Sasanian times as a place of minor importance. The *Fārs-Nāme*, an anonymous Persian work of the early XIIth century shows that at this period, so prosperous for the kingdom of Fārs, Shāpūr was completely deserted.¹⁰ After this, there is only one more account of the site from a Moslem writer, that of Mustawfī in the early XIVth century.¹¹ In this account Shāpūr, though deserted, is still the centre of a rich agricultural country, far different to the wilderness of thorn that surrounds it today. Mustawfī's Moorish contemporary, Ibn Baṭūṭa, was not even tempted to wander a few miles from his path to see these vast ruins when he visited the tomb of a pious Shaikh in Ḳāzerūn. Probably the Bakhtiyārī country was already beginning its descent into the Nomadic savagery and isolation of modern times.¹² One must wait close on five centuries for another eye witness' account of Shāpūr, till the visit in 1809 of James

⁶ Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*

⁷ Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim fi Ma'rifaṭ al-Aḳālim*, in *B.G.A.* III, Leyden, 1876, pp. 432-444.

⁸ Ibn Hauḳal, *Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, in *B.G.A.* II, Leyden, 1873, p. 194.

⁹ Muḳaddasī, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*

¹² *Travels of Ibn Baṭūṭa*, trans. by H. A. R. Gibb, London, 1929, p. 97.

Morier, who patiently examined both reliefs and ruins and recorded them much in their present condition.¹³

II. PLAN AND BUILDINGS OF THE CITY

Before anything final can be said as to the exact nature of the layout of the city itself or the plans and nature of the individual buildings, extensive, though in most cases fairly shallow, excavations, will be necessary. But the main outlines of the city can still be distinguished fairly closely—it seems to have been but very little modified by occupation subsequent to early Islamic times—and one or two of the buildings are well enough preserved above ground to permit a fairly close examination. It hence seems that the publication of a sketch plan, incorporating all that can be seen on the surface, and of preliminary plans of some of the buildings, may well prove of use to archaeologists, even though the plans and the notes upon them can in no way pretend to finality.

The city of *Shāpūr* stands in a picturesque position at the entrance of a narrow gorge, where the *Shāpūr* river passes to an enclosed plain above. On the precipitous rocks at either side of the gorge are the famous Sasanian reliefs, two to the south and four to the north, well known to us through the publication of Fr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld,¹⁴ as well as from the descriptions of all travellers who have visited the site. The city itself has, however, escaped serious notice, except for a brief study by E. Flandin and P. Coste.¹⁵

At the summit of the cliff to the south stands the citadel (*Fig. 1*). The lower portions of what remains are undoubtedly to be assigned to the Sasanian period, but various later additions have considerably affected the superstructure. The early work is of rough, unsquared stones, set in hard cement. The walls, which must originally have been covered with plaster outside as well as in, are thick and strong. The rooms are small and dark, and their plans are determined to a great extent by the disposition of the rock on which they stand, for the summit occupied by the citadel is neither very level nor very regular. A small court occupies the centre of the building; rooms stretch in every direction, though the more important ones all seem to have been to the south. The outer wall here, which towers up above a precipitous rock face, shows the best and most elaborate Sasanian masonry at *Shāpūr* (*Fig. 2*).¹⁶ Two periods of work can be distinguished here, one of repair, above, at the left, and one which shows the original Sasanian work, below, at the right. The blank arcading is distinctive, and shows a niche disposition akin to that at Ctesiphon. The niches are, however, single, and of equal size, akin in appearance to recesses, and the disposition is less elaborate than at Ctesiphon, where the various registers are of different heights, and

¹³ J. Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, London, 1818, pp. 86–91.

¹⁴ *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin, 1910, pp. 213 ff.

¹⁵ *Voyage en Persé pendant 1840/41*, Paris, 1843–54, Vol. I; also Plates, Vol. I.

¹⁶ E. Flandin and P. Coste, *op. cit.*, p. 48, did not

notice this wall. In common with other travellers they seem to have been deterred from making the exhausting climb of the cliff south of the citadel from which alone a good view of it may be obtained. See *Fig. 2*. (Photo. by G. Reitlinger.)

where the niches themselves are of a more elaborate type, smaller ones being embraced within the larger, or niches of different shapes occurring in juxtaposition. Most recent opinion now concurs in assigning the Ctesiphon arch to the time of Khusraw I (531-579 A.D.).¹⁷ It is hence tempting to assign the work in the citadel at Shāpūr to the time of Shāpūr I (241-272 A.D.), the monarch with whose name the city is associated, though such an assignation is of course at best, problematical. The later work is probably of early Islamic, rather than of late Sasanian, times. When more work has been done in Persia in connection with Sasanian sites, it will perhaps prove as easy to date buildings on the evidence of blank arcading alone as it is to date them by ornament and sculpture in the Romanesque world, but at the moment the available data are few and far between.

The cliff to the south of the citadel was never included in the defensive scheme; it must have been important, for the smooth rock of which it is formed is pitted with a series of shallow oblong niches or troughs, as well as raised slabs of the same form and size, some of them connected one with another by irrigation channels scooped out of the rock. It is tempting to assume that the slabs, the sides of which are cambered, are miniature fire altars, since the undoubted fire altars at Naqsh-e-Rustem near Persepolis, though much larger, are of the same form, and are also associated with a system of irrigation channels cut in the same manner. It is significant that both groups of open-air fire altars occur in the close neighbourhood of rock reliefs celebrating the triumphs and investitures of Sasanian monarchs.

The general disposition of the eastern end of the city is clearly to be seen on the plan, and its appearance is conveyed by Figure 3, where the citadel can be seen at the centre, and the gorge to the left, between the citadel and the larger hill to the north. The buildings in the foreground of the figure are, of course, of later date. The western extremity of the city is more level, and the nature of the ruin field in this direction is shown in Figure 4, taken from about the middle of the city. The towers in the centre of the picture, in the middle distance, belong to the mud-brick walls of the modern village.

It is actually from the citadel that the best view of the city is to be obtained, and the main lay-out of the plan can be seen from there fairly clearly. To the north the river forms a boundary, and the main area of the city always remained to the south of it. The city area to the north indicated on E. Flandin and P. Coste's plan contained no buildings of any importance. The river is traversed today by a shallow ford at the mouth of the gorge; this crossing was probably also used in ancient times, but more important for communication was a massive stone bridge, about half way between the gorge and the furthest extremity of the city. Three piers of the bridge still survive. It must have been a magnificent structure, with two massive arches, akin to those which have survived in better condition at Dizfūl

¹⁷ It has been suggested that the Tāḡ is as early as the time of Shāpūr I but recent research shows that the later date is far more probable. See O. Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der deutschen Ktesiphon-Expedition*, 1928/29, p. 32. In the opinion of Prof. E. Herzfeld,

however, the Tāḡ is definitely early in date and it is to be assigned to the period of Shāpūr I. He thinks that work done in the time of Khusrau II was restricted to repairs, or to a recovering of part of the building with stucco.

and Shuster. The masonry is of the usual unsquared stone, set in hard cement. It is today impossible to tell whether the arches were originally pointed or elliptical, the more usual Sasanian shape.

The western extremity of the city was bounded by a tall rampart, a great part of which must have been of mud brick. On the outside of this was a wide moat, but this has probably been enlarged at more or less frequent intervals ever since to afford material for the construction of the present village. On the southern side of the ancient city there stood a similar rampart, but the moat seems to have been rather narrower. Both these walls are absolutely straight; each of them was probably pierced by more than one gate. The most important of these was apparently that in the western wall, which gave onto a road running more or less direct to the mouth of the gorge. The line of this road can be traced for the greater part of its course today. Traces of a second main east to west road are also to be seen, and a main road running from south to north probably led originally to the bridge mentioned above. The track at the foot of the citadel hill is that in use today, but it probably follows an ancient road fairly closely. On or near the main longitudinal road most of the more important buildings seem to have been situated, though the large ruin mounds at the eastern end of the city show that it was here, in any case in earlier times, that the larger constructions lay. This eastern end of the city would appear to have been the main centre of activity in early times (see *infra*).

The disposition of the city is, in main outline, very much what we see in the Hellenistic or Roman worlds. The idea of a rectangular, geometrical, plan has been fairly closely followed; it is in fact only modified by the use of natural barriers like the river and the citadel cliff, just as the plans of the Hellenistic "Caravan cities," like Dura, were modified. The main streets intersect the city and one another more or less at right angles, and they appear to have been wide and imposing. There is little of that untidy, ill-assorted arrangement, which is so characteristic of eastern towns from neo-Babylonian times onwards, nor would the streets themselves appear to have been narrow or twisting.¹⁸ The city shows, in fact, the influence of the Hellenistic geometrical town plan, which was carried eastwards by Alexander's conquests, and was adopted in numerous Alexandriae, Selucia and Antiochs over the whole area which fell under Hellenistic domination. It remains nevertheless an eastern city—it is not purely Hellenistic, but like the art of Persia from the fourth century B.C. onwards, it shows a mixture of eastern and western elements.

THE BUILDINGS

Several buildings survive above ground in a more or less perfect state of preservation. Of these the most imposing is probably the temple.

The Temple. The side walls and the wall at the southern end have now fallen in greater part; the wall at the northern end survives to the full extent of its height. At its summit are

¹⁸ As for instance in mound W at Kish, of the neo-Babylonian period.



FIG. 1—SHĀPŪR. CITADEL. FROM GORGE BELOW



FIG. 2—SHĀPŪR. CITADEL, SOUTH FAÇADE



FIG. 3—SHĀPŪR. VIEW TOWARD CITADEL



FIG. 4—SHĀPŪR, RUIN FIELD, VIEW FROM WEST

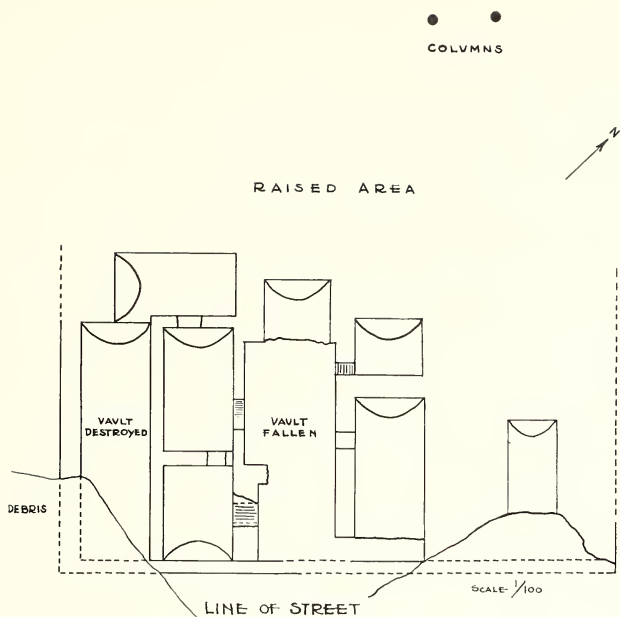


FIG. 6—SHĀPŪR, PLAN OF VAULTED BUILDING

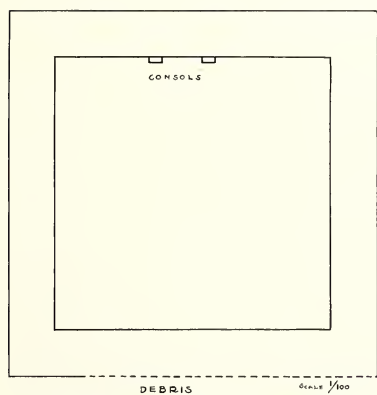


FIG. 5—SHĀPŪR, PLAN OF TEMPLE

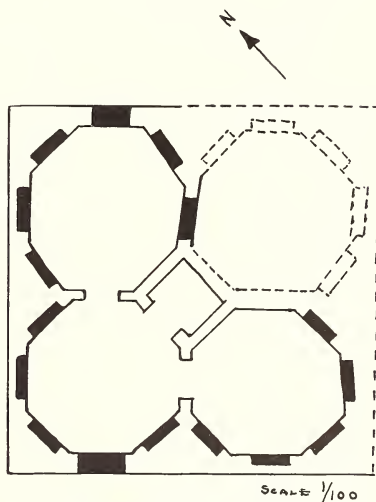


FIG. 8—SHĀPŪR, PLAN OF BUILDING A



FIG. 7—SHĀPŪR. VAULTED BUILDING



FIG. 9—SHĀPŪR, BUILDING A

two consols, in the form of crouching bulls, which must have served to support the wooden beams of the roof. The spaces between them probably afforded ventilation, for they stand clear of the actual wall. The masonry of this is of fine ashlar work, set without mortar, on the outsides, but the core of the wall is of the usual rough stone work, set in hard cement. The consols are akin in form and design to the typical Achaemenid bull-capitals of Persepolis, but the work is less elaborate, and they would appear to be somewhat later in date. They have apparently suffered severely at the hand of time, for if Morier's drawings are to be believed, they were in far better preservation at the time of his visit in about 1812.¹⁹

The plan of the building is of the simplest, and presents no architectural problems (*Fig. 5*). If E. Flandin and P. Coste's sketch plan is to be believed it must, however, have been of a very considerable height, for they note the summits of entrances in both the end walls, eight metres below the consols at the summit of the northern wall. The doors themselves can hardly have been less than two and a half metres in height, so that the building must have been at least some twelve metres high. Such great height in comparison to the dimensions of the ground plan is a distinctly eastern feature,²⁰ and makes of the building, which appears at first sight as rather classical, a structure which is essentially eastern.

Vaulted building. This stands close to the main east to west street, not far from the centre of the city. The vaults that remain are probably no more than the substructures of some imposing building, but as there is very little debris above them, it seems probable that the upper storey was of wood. Two columns of stone on the upper level still stand to the east of the vaults themselves, and fragments of other columns are strewn around them.²¹ Further vaults, which are now inaccessible, may well exist below these (see plan, *Fig. 6*).

The vaults that can be seen today are of elliptical barrel form, though in some places the shape has been altered by pressure. They are built of rough stones, set in hard mortar (*Fig. 7*). In a few places the arches of the doors between the various rooms have been preserved; more often they have been destroyed by the cutting of larger openings at subsequent periods of occupation. In some cases these openings seem to have been made where no doors originally existed. The vault of the central chamber, which has fallen, was originally higher than those of the side chambers, all of which are at the same level.

Vaulted buildings of rather similar character are common over the whole of the Near East. The closest parallel, as far as actual plan is concerned, is afforded by the *baits* at Ẓaṣr al-Ṭubā in Syria, which follow, according to K. A. C. Creswell, a Syrian rather than a Persian disposition.²² It is impossible to make any assertions on the grounds of a single example, especially when it is one which may present a rather different plan when it comes to be fully excavated and examined. The similarity of the plan of Ẓaṣr al-Ṭubā is, however, of the first importance, and if excavation at Shāpūr can show the vaulted structure to date

¹⁹ J. Morier, *op. cit.* See also E. Flandin and P. Coste, *loc. cit.*

²⁰ A love of small high buildings is characteristic of Babylonian architecture. We see it on Persian soil in

the stone structures at Nakṣh-i-Rustem and Pasagradæ.

²¹ These were noted by E. Flandin and P. Coste, *loc. cit.*

²² *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1932, p. 386.

from the time of *Shāpūr I*, as seems extremely probable, a great step will have been made in the solution of the problems which beset the question of the origin of certain architectural forms in the Near East. For if the *Shāpūr* building be of early Sasanian date, it must antedate anything of the type in Syria. Even if the *Shāpūr* building be slightly less early in date, its importance is considerable, since it must either show Syrian influence, or prove that the type of *bait* which K. A. C. Creswell regards as purely Syrian was known in Sasanian times in Persia also. The latter suggestion seems the more probable, when we remember that the desert palaces of Syria do show features that suggest Persian affinities, although the buildings on the western side of the country are more purely hellenistic or Byzantine.²³ The nature of the construction and the level of the building with regard to the surroundings makes it seem well nigh certain that the building is of fairly early Sasanian date, and the masonry seems to bear out this conclusion, for it appears to be closely similar to that at *Fīrūzābād*. Other ruins of similar plan, as for instance *Ḳuṣeir 'Amra* in Syria, belong to baths, and it is probable that the vaulted building at *Shāpūr* is part of a bath also.

Building A. This building, again stands close to the main east to west road. It is hard to account for its peculiar shape (see plan, *Fig. 8*); it may perhaps have been something in the nature of a gate or guard house. The walls are preserved for a height of from two to four feet above the surface, except in the area restored in dotted lines on the plan, where they are completely buried. They are of rough stone, set in very hard cement, but the outer side seems to have been originally faced with stones more regularly squared. The inner face was covered with plaster, but this survives today only in the niches (*Fig. 9*). The type of construction is that which was universally employed in this part of Persia throughout Sasanian and early Islamic times, but the general appearance of the building is suggestive of the later period. There is unfortunately no archaeological date to make a more exact attribution possible.

Domed building. The position of this building is not indicated on the sketch plan of the city; it stands actually not far from the "house ruins" near the southeastern corner. It is a small building of square plan, and was originally roofed with a dome. It is now more or less completely buried, the surrounding debris reaching about a quarter of the way up the side of the dome itself. The upper portion of the dome has fallen, and the accompanying photograph was taken from the edge of the dome, looking down into the interior of the building (*Fig. 10*).

The nature of the construction of the dome can be seen clearly. Transition from the square plan of the base to the circle of the dome was accomplished by means of squinches; the dome above was built in the usual Sasanian manner, without centering. The stones are long and flat, laid with their longest dimension radially. The Sasanian date of the building seems certain, both because of the nature of the construction, and because of the depth of the surrounding debris.

²³ For an excellent appreciation of the debt that these owe to Persia and Mesopotamia see H. Terrasse, *L'Art*

hispano-mauresque, Paris, 1932, pp. 27 ff.



FIG. 10—SHĀPŪR, DOMED BUILDING, INTERIOR



FIG. 11—SHĀPŪR, IMĀM



FIG. 12—SHĀPŪR, ARCHED BUILDING



FIG. 13—SHĀPŪR, PALACE

Imām. Towards the western extremity of the city, between the main road and the river, stand two buildings, one of which we here term an Imām (*Fig. 11*). It is a small square structure, originally roofed with a dome. The upper part of the dome has now fallen. The masonry is extremely rough, and the general aspect of the building suggests that it is considerably later in date than the Sasanian period. In Persia and Trāḵ some particular figure seems frequently to have been associated by Islam with an ancient site, and it would seem that the Shāpūr building is a shrine of this nature, of no very great age. Early masonry, however rough, is quite distinct from that of the Imām, as a comparison of Figures 10 and 11 serves to prove.

Arched building. Close to the above are the ruins of a more elaborate building. Two arches are all that remain (*Fig. 12*), but the building appears to have been of exactly the same type as that photographed by M. Dieulafoy at Ferahābād, namely a dome on an open square, the sides of the square being bridged by large elliptical arches.²⁴ At Shāpūr, however, there is no trace of the squinches of Ferahābād, though they may well have fallen. The rough work of the interiors of the walls is of the type usual in Sasanian building in the uplands, where local stone is used; the facing of more carefully squared stones is also common in Sasanian work, but on general grounds the Shāpūr building would seem to belong to the end rather than to the beginning of this period.

Palace. The ruins of a large building, with rooms of considerable size, stand to the south of the main road, not far from the western boundary of the city. The walls stand in places to quite a considerable height, and the fallen columns show that a portion of the building at least was of a sumptuous and elaborate character (*Fig. 13*). It presents certain analogies with the early Islamic palaces, but without the aid of excavation it is impossible to say whether it is of late Sasanian or of Islamic date. It is, nevertheless, tempting to suggest that this palace, situated as it must have been, amidst gardens and shrubs, became the residence of the ruler when the fortified palace on the citadel hill seemed too primitive and warlike. Such a change in outlook apparently took place towards the end of the Sasanian period.

Spring. One further monument, outside the walls of the city, may be noted. It stands some 500 metres to the south of the point of junction of the southern wall and the citadel cliff, on the present day track to Ḳāzerūn, and consists of the remains of an elaborate construction of horse-shoe shape, surrounding a spring which appears to rise from the bottom of the enclosed basin. The basin is eight metres in diameter; a channel, six metres across, takes the water away at the western end.²⁵ The stone blocks used for the main structure are fluted, the work being of a definitely Greek character. The construction is perhaps to be dated to the Seleucid period.

²⁴ M. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, Paris, 1884, Vol. IV, Pl. XVIII.

²⁵ E. Flandin and P. Coste, *op. cit.*, Pl. 46.

SUMMARY

As far as can be judged from so superficial an examination, it would seem that the earlier work is all situated at the eastern end of the city, and that the town of the time of Shāpūr I (241-272 A.D.), to which period the citadel undoubtedly belonged, was not of any very considerable size. Its limits may well have been marked by the mounds and depressions which indicate the main cross street. As time went on, the enclosed portion of the city, if enclosed it were, was probably enlarged. The walls as we see them today were perhaps erected at this time. Of the six groups of sculpture in the gorge the most recent is in all probability the one dated to the time of Khusrau II (590-628 A.D.).²⁶ It is tempting to associate the final extension of the city with this last monarch, and the transference of the seat of residence from the eastern end to a new and more spacious palace may well have been accomplished at this time also. Such a transference would have been in keeping with the spirit of the later Sasanian age. The city remained inhabited for quite a considerable period after the establishment of Islamic rule (see part I).

In an opposite direction it is also tempting to suggest that Shāpūr I was not the actual founder of the city. The temple and the spring both bear a definitely pre-Sasanian stamp. There is something of a classical flavour about the latter, and it may be that we have to do with one of the 70 cities founded in Iran by Alexander, or one of the equally numerous ones founded by Seleukos. That Shāpūr chose an entirely new site is far from likely; that he selected one which was already inhabited, if not flourishing, seems more probable, and the facts suggest that he was responsible for the enlargement and glorification, rather than for the foundation of the city which bears his name.

²⁶ F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 214. The relief is the most easterly on the north side of the gorge.

DER SEELISCHE GEHALT DER IRANISCHEN KUNST—FEUERTEM- PEL UND AVESTA

VON JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI

ES DÜRFTE DER FORSCHUNG ZUM SEGEN GEREICHEN, DASS ETWA GLEICHZEITIG MIT DEM Erscheinen meines Asienwerkes die Möglichkeit eintrat, in Persien auszugraben. So weit ich unterrichtet bin, sind jetzt schon eine Reihe amerikanischer Forschungsreisender unterwegs, weitausgreifende Arbeiten also insbesondere auch auf dem Boden des schöpferischen Mittelpunktes dieses grossen westasiatischen Gebietes im nordöstlichen Iran bereiten sich vor. Der zweite internationale Kongress für persische Kunst, der unter führender Teilnahme von Amerikanern in London zugleich mit einer Ausstellung persischer Kunst im Burlington House abgehalten wurde, bildete zu alle dem den Auftakt.

Auf dem Kongresse selbst schon konnte ich aussprechen, dass sowohl er wie die anschliessende Ausstellung persischer Kunst zwar den Körper dieser Kunst behandelten, die Seele dagegen unberücksichtigt liessen; in dieser Richtung müsste der nächste Kongress in Leningrad ergänzend eingreifen. Auf der Ausstellung sowohl wie auf dem Kongresse war vor allem die islamische Kunst breit in den Vordergrund gestellt, als wenn man von ihren Beständen aus Wesen und Entwicklung des Kunststromes, dem sie angehört, beurteilen könnte. Die nach Westasien entsandten Forschungsreisen werden da wohl bald Wandel schaffen in dem Sinne, den ich in schweren Kämpfen insbesondere den Orientalisten gegenüber vertreten musste: die islamische Kunst hat nicht das Erbe der antiken, sondern das der ostiranischen Welt angetreten. Es war erfreulich zu sehen, wie sich die einzelnen Sonderforscher auf dem Kongress zu meiner zuerst im *Mschatta* 1904, dann 1910 im *Amida*, 1917 in *Altai-Iran* und endlich 1930 in dem Werke *Asiens bildende Kunst* ausgesprochenen Entwicklungsannahme in dem Sinne bekannten, dass die Bewegung in der Entwicklung der islamischen Kunst nicht mehr vom Mittelmeere, sondern vom Osten, zunächst von Khorāsān ausginge; R. M. Riefstahl für die Fliesen, E. Kühnel für die Bronzen, H. Schmidt für die Stoffe, A. Sakisian u.a. für die Miniaturen erkannten immer wieder an, dass der Ausgangspunkt der "persischen" Bewegung im Nordosten Irans zu suchen sei. So sind wir denn allmählich da angelangt, dass die Kämpfe, die ich seit 1910 auszufechten hatte, endlich überflüssig geworden sind, weil sich die Forschung inzwischen naturgemäss in meinem Sinne entwickelt hat.

Nur in einer Richtung fand ich weder auf dem Kongress selbst noch bei dessen Veranstaltungen heute noch das geringste Verständnis. Während man zugibt, dass der Gestalten- und Formenschatz der islamischen Kunst, soweit nicht das Bauen in Betracht kommt, vom Osten Irans auszugehen scheine, will man doch in keiner Weise für wahr haben, dass die eigentlich treibende Kraft zu dem, was dann auch noch im Islam nachlebt, einst der mazdaistische Feuertempel und die Avestahandschriften gewesen wären. Da sich ein sehr bekannter Forscher auf dem Gebiete der persischen Kunst immer wieder gegen mich eifernd erhob und den Bestand von Feuertempeln durchaus leugnete, es hätte nur Feueraltäre und Feuertürme

gegeben, bin ich jetzt erst recht stolz darauf, dass ich eigene Wege ging und wie einst von der Moschee des Ibn Tūlūn aus ihn veranlasste, Sāmarrā auszugraben, so auch jetzt ihm zu danken habe, dass der Bestand von Feuertempeln, den ich aus dem Kirchenbau Armeniens und aus Bauten wie der Marienkirche auf dem Harlungerberge in Brandenburg und von Germingny des Près von 806 her erschlossen hatte, tatsächlich noch in fast einem Dutzend in Persien sowohl wie im nordöstlichen Iran festgestellt ist. Man lese darüber E. Herzfeld's "Reisebericht" in der *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Neue Folge V, Bd. 80, S. 225 f.), entweder im Original oder in den Auszügen nach, die ich daraus zuerst in der *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* (IV, 1926), dann in meinen Werken *Die altslavische Kunst* (S. 26 f.), und *Asiens bildende Kunst* (S. 273 f.), gegeben habe. Leider veröffentlicht E. Herzfeld, wie er mir zusagte, die Aufnahmen der aufgefundenen Ruinen nicht; man ersieht nur aus seiner Beschreibung, dass es sich um den von mir erwarteten Grundriss von vier in ein Quadrat eingestellten Stützen handelt, wie sie schon in dem von M. Dieulafoy in Susa freigelegten achämenidischen Baue ebenso wie später bei allen den Bauten vorkommen, die ich mit dem Feuertempel in nähere Beziehung brachte. Wichtig wäre dabei festzustellen, ob sich im Schutt Reste von Gewölben und Mosaiken finden. Man lese auch darüber meine oben genannten Werke nach. Ich will mich hier nicht beim Feuertempel aufhalten, wichtig ist nur, dass bei zukünftigen Aufnahmen und Ausgrabungen ausdrücklich untersucht wird, ob solche Mauerquadrate mit vier eingestellten Stützen wirklich, wie auch E. Herzfeld annimmt, Feuertempel waren. Wahrscheinlich hat es übrigens verschiedene Arten von Feuertempeln gegeben, die Hauptsache bleibt der strahlenförmige Grundriss, wie ich ihn schon in meinem Asienwerke in einer Typentafel zusammen gestellt habe.

Bei Vorbereitung des Werkes *Asiens bildende Kunst*, in dem das eigentliche Asien den vorgelagerten Gebieten entgegen gestellt wurde, trat deutlich der iranische Feuertempel in seiner Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des Bauens und Ausstattens von solchen christlichen Kirchen hervor, die eine Kuppel über dem Quadrat oder eine mit landschaftlichen Mosaiken ausgestattete Apsis aufweisen. Seither kamen bei der Vorbereitung eines anderen Werkes über die asiatische Miniaturenmalerei im Anschluss an die Schätze von Mogulminiaturen in Wien Beobachtungen hinzu, die nicht minder als die Ergebnisse über den Feuertempel die Beachtung der Freunde persischer Kunst verdienen. In dem neuen Werke gehe ich der Handschriftenmalerei nach, soweit dabei Mongolen, Chinesen, Perser und Inder in Betracht kommen. Ich musste immer wieder die Beobachtung machen, dass die Grundlage der ganzen Entwicklung in der Ausstattung einer Gattung von Handschriften zu suchen sei, die im Mittelmeerkreise erst mit dem christlichen Evangeliar und später im *Kor'ān* auftaucht, dem Typus nämlich der Ausstattung des "heiligen" Buches. Ich glaube dafür einige Spuren, wenn nicht schon für die Veden, so doch mit Wahrscheinlichkeit für die verlorenen Avesta-Handschriften nachweisen zu können.

Fragen wir zunächst einmal, wie weit unsere Kunde von dem Zend-Avesta überhaupt reicht. Alexander soll ein auf Kuhhäute—es werden 1200 genannt—mit Goldtinte geschriebenes Exemplar verbrannt haben. Er hat damit ebensowenig wie bald darauf Shi huang

ti in China bezüglich Confutse verhindern können, dass die Kenntnis der heiligen Schrift der Feueranbeter erhalten blieb und zuerst in parthischer Zeit, dann von den Sasaniden Versuche der Wiederherstellung unternommen wurden, die, wie es scheint, für die Bildende Kunst und die Ausstattung von Handschriften im Besonderen von Bedeutung wurden insofern, als in ihnen das Pergament, also die in Lagen geschnittene Tierhaut verwendet wurde. Darauf weist, dass die Ausstattung dieser Handschriften, die ich in ihrer Eigenart nachweisen zu können glaube, bereits für das einzelne Blatt berechnet ist.

Woher wir die Kenntnis einer Ausstattung der verlorenen Avestahandschriften nehmen? Um die Mitte des ersten christlichen Jahrtausends tritt im Wesen der Handschriftenmalerei zusammen mit dem Pergament eine so auffallende Aenderung ein, dass wir längst danach fahnden, woher dieser Umschwung eigentlich zu erklären sei. Wenn sich jetzt herausstellt, dass in dieser, an Stelle der alten "Illustration" die "Decoration" einführenden Neuerung unzählige mazdaistische Sinnbilder eine ausschlaggebende Rolle spielen, so werden Fachmann wie Laie gedrängt, sich ernstlich mit der Ursprungsannahme dahingehend zu beschäftigen, dass es das Aufkommen des heiligen Buches und der Avestaausstattung im Besonderen gewesen sei die diesen Umschwung herbeiführten.

Dabei ist das Verfahren des Rückschlusses vom bekannten Jüngeren auf das unbekannte Ältere anzuwenden. Wenn wir in den Vertretern der neuen Pergamentausstattung, den merowingischen, karolingischen und langobardischen Handschriften, ganz zu schweigen von den irisch-angelsächsischen, eine Art antreffen, die ebenso im Osten durchdringt, bei Armeniern, Kopten und Byzantinern, dann ist es von vornherein wahrscheinlich, dass es sich um eine im Norden selbst und seinem Osten vorgehende Bewegung handelt, wie ich sie in meinem Buche *Early Church Art in Northern Europe with Special Reference to Timber Architecture and Decoration* (London, 1928), mehrfach andeuten konnte. Man nimmt diese Dinge auch heute noch nicht ernst, weil diese Art Kunst für barbarisch und primitiv, damit aber zugleich nicht unserer vertieften Beachtung wert erachtet wird. Dass in ihr aber eine künstlerisch in der Wurzel andere Art hervortritt als wir sie von Hellenismus und dem Mittelmeerkreise her in der sog. Antike entscheidend hervortreten sehen, wird nicht zugegeben, ja womöglich versucht, diese neue Art doch irgendwie wieder aus der Antike herzuleiten. In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich um eine Kunstwelt, die wir bisher ganz übersehen haben und die im Norden eine ähnliche Rolle spielt wie Hellas im Süden, nämlich um die Kunst des auch für die *Ars Islamica* im Vordergrund stehenden Iran. Sehen wir uns diese iranische Kunst im Spiegel ihrer Ausbreitungsgebiete etwas näher an.

Da sind also zunächst einmal all die heiligen Bücher, die, wie die Evangeliiare und der *Kor'un* auf Pergament hergestellt und—so erscheint es uns—"rein schmückend" ausgestattet wurden. Die manichäischen Handschriften der ältesten Zeit sind leider ebenso verloren wie die mazdaistischen, die wir als Ausgangspunkt annehmen. Diesen stehen am nächsten die armenischen Handschriften, wenn die erhaltenen auch jünger sind als die abendländischen Beispiele. So scheinen insbesondere die Kanonestafeln unmittelbar iranischen Handschriften entnommen. Der heilige Bogen an sich mit seinen kalligraphisch gezeichneten Säulen,

die Rundbogen tragen, bisweilen solche in Hufeisenform, eingefügt einem rechteckigen Aufsatze, das Ganze mit einer Unzahl von Streifen- und Flächenmustern ohne Ende in bunten Farben übersponnen; dazu allerhand Einzelheiten wie persische Eckansätze in Palmettenform, dann der Lebensbrunnen zwischen Tieren oder Vögeln oben in der Mittelachse, dazu so oft als möglich im Umkreise wiederholt der Lebensbaum selbst mit Tieren und Vögeln: alles das hat so ausgesprochen mazdaistische Bedeutung, dass ich in meinen Schriften immer wieder von verschiedenen Seiten darauf hinweisen musste, Armenien sei bis 428 unter der Regierung einer arsakidischen Dynastie gestanden. Heute möchte ich nur einige besonders auffallende Einzelbeispiele herausgreifen.

Da ist zunächst einmal der Vogel mit dem Zweige, dessen Bedeutung vielleicht schon in der Taube mit dem Oelzweige, die Noah zufliegt, zu Tage kommt. Ob in Deckenmosaiken von S. Costanza in Rom oder in Malereien an den Decken der Adschanta-Höhlen in Indien bzw. dem Wüstenschlosse von Kuşair 'Amra im Moab, ob in dem Evangeliar des Rabula aus dem Kloster Zagba in Mesopotamien von 586 oder in einem Lebensbrunnen im Godescalcevangeliar Karls des Grossen, endlich sehr oft wiederholt in der ostasiatischen Kunst—immer sehen wir im Umkreise von Iran dieses anmutige Motiv wiederkehren, das, wie es scheint, schon die Arier aus dem Norden mitgebracht haben, wo es bereits im dritten Jahrtausend vor Chr. belegbar ist. Darüber später.

Oder gehen wir der auffallenden Häufigkeit des einzelnen Baumes nach. Ihm vor allem kommt Heiligkeit zu; so ist der heilige Baum als Sinnbild Buddhas in der indischen Stupenkunst überaus geläufig. Es kommt garnicht darauf an, ob der Baum der Wirklichkeit nachgeahmt ist oder künstlich zusammengestellt erscheint, wie schon im altesopotamischen Lebensbaum oder an den Stupenpfählen in Santschi. Iranisch scheint gerade die letztere Art, wie schon der armenische Kanonesschmuck zusammen mit den heiligen Bäumen an der Grotte des letzten Sasaniden am *Ṭāk-i-būstān* erkennen lässt. An den Thronen der *Khalifen* von Baghdād wie an solchen mongolischer Fürsten in China und Indien standen jene von Goldschmieden angefertigten Bäume mit singenden Vögeln u. dgl., die am besten aus der Beschreibung des Luitprand um 950 vom byzantinischen Kaiserhofe bekannt sind. Eine gute Vorstellung solcher Bäume gibt eine armenische Seidenstickerei im Volkskundemuseum in Wien, die wie altchristliche Mosaiken in Ravenna oder die jüngeren Mosaiken in der Geburtskirche zu Bethlehem solche Bäume als Abgrenzung des Bildfeldes verwenden. Besondere Beachtung verdient der Baum mit gespaltener Wurzel, der Gaokerena des Avesta, der schon in altchristlicher Zeit von Iran aus über Vorderasien in die Kunst der römischen und ravenatischen Sarkophage übergegangen war, uns aber besonders gut bekannt ist aus persischen und indischen Miniaturen z. B. solchen des schlafenden Rustam von 1463 u. s. w. Man denke auch an den Baum *Wāk-wāk* und den Paradiesesbaum mit den in seiner Krone wohnenden Engeln. Bisher wurde der Baum als Einzelmotiv behandelt.

Der Baum bildet aber zumeist nur den Teil einer Landschaft und zwar auch wieder jener Landschaft, die im Besonderen als Sinnbild der Heiligkeit verwendet wird. In Iran selbst ist davon freilich nichts erhalten, wohl aber wieder im gesamten Umkreise des altmazdaïs-

tischen Gebietes. Zunächst solche heilige Landschaften ohne Baum. Man stelle einen der Schosoin Spiegel neben das bekannte Mosaik des guten Hirten im Mausoleum der Galla Placidia und ein Fresco aus Adschantä, vergleiche in Ravenna und Japan die kegelförmig gebauten und von einer Laubkrone umschlossenen Berge in ihrer symmetrischen Verteilung, dazu in Ravenna und Adschantä den Abschluss dieser durchaus naturfernen Felslandschaft durch eine Stufe im Vordergrund, die rein geometrisch wie im Zahnschnitt hergerichtet erscheint. Die fast architektonisch wirkenden Felsen der Adschantamalereien haben ihr ausgesprochenes Gegenstück in den Felsstufen der Mosaiken von S. Vitale in Ravenna, insbesondere denen der Evangelisten, die durch diese fast bis an den oberen Bildrand in die Höhe steigenden Felswände wie gegen die Bildfläche gedrückt erscheinen. Das ist eben die iranische Art Raum zu geben. Die späten persischen und indischen Miniaturen bilden diese Höhenanordnung erst unter europäischem Einfluss in die Tiefendarstellung um. Aber bleiben wir zunächst noch bei der heiligen Landschaft. Die besten Beispiele sind bekannt aus S. Apollinare in Classe, Nola und jetzt von der anderen Seite Irans her aus den Funden in der nördlichen Mongolei, z. B. einem Seidenstoff mit Felsen, Bäumen und Vögeln aus Noin Ula. In den späteren persischen Miniaturen kehren solche Landschaften immer wieder.

Ueber alle diese Dinge habe ich bereits einmal, im Jahre 1922 in London in der India society gesprochen, damals unter besonderer Hervorhebung der Hvarenahbedeutung solcher heiliger Landschaften. Heute liegt mir näher nicht so sehr auf die Landschaft des Diesseits als auf die des Jenseits, das Paradies einzugehen. Dazu geben vor allem Anlass die neuerdings in der grossen Moschee von Damaskus gefundenen Mosaiklandschaften, die im Vordergrund genau so abschliessen, wie die vorgeführten Bilder in Ravenna und Adschantä und hauptsächlich aus nebeneinander gestellten Bäumen und Bauwerken bestehen. Im Vordergrund zieht sich immer ein Wasserstreifen hin, dessen Ufer in dem kennzeichnenden Zahnschnitt gehalten sind. Damit ist der Sinn des Dargestellten von vornherein angedeutet wie ja auch schon in den Bäumen. Neu sind nur die Bauwerke in ihrer scheinbar sinnlosen Häufung. Wenn man aber eine sasanidische Bronzeschüssel vergleicht, die inmitten von 22 radial gestellten Bogen mit Lebensbäumen im Mittelkreis über ausgebreiteten Flügeln ein Gebäude von ähnlicher Art zeigt, wie etwa die grossen Fassaden zu Seiten zweier Rundtempel in Damaskus, auf der Schüssel übrigens wieder begleitet und ausgestattet mit heiligen Bäumen, dann kann kein Zweifel sein, dass es sich um Bauten von mazdaistischer Bedeutung handelt. Wir werden es wohl schon da mit einer Art von Paradiesesvorstellungen zu tun haben.

Für die am häufigsten vorkommende Paradiesesvorstellung gehe ich aus von einer indischen Miniatur, die sich im Indian Museum in Calcutta (S. No. 53) erhalten hat. Sie umfasst mehr Gestalten als die Baulandschaften von Damascus insofern als zu Bau und Baum noch besonders kennzeichnend oben die beiden Hähne kommen, die das Sinnbild der Morgenröte sind, und unten die Spaltung des Baumes, aus dessen Quelle Tiere trinken. Darüber an den Seiten zuerst zwei blühende Sträucher und dann drei Paare von Muschelinseln. Das wichtigste im vorliegenden Blatte ist die Tatsache, dass der Baum durch einen

Rosenstrauch mit sechs grossen Blüten und zahlreichen Knospen und Blättern dazwischen ersetzt ist. Seine sinnbildliche Bedeutung ist vom Abendlande her durch die "Maria im Rosenhag" bekannt; jetzt wird eindeutig klar, dass er das Paradies versinnbildlicht, zugleich aber auch, dass diese Bedeutung mit der Rose selbst aus Persien nach dem Westen kam. Zwar ist die indische Miniatur jung, gehört etwa dem 17. Jahrhundert an, aber es steht ausser Zweifel, dass sie auf altiranische Voraussetzungen zurückgeht. Aber gleich eine zweite indische Miniatur, die *Djahān Ārā*, die Tochter *Shāh Djahāns* hockend auf einem Lehnstuhl und lautespielend zeigt, wie sie von einer Dienerin mit Flasche und Schale bedient wird, weist im Hintergrunde wieder die Rosenhecke auf. Dass sie auch hier Sinnbild des Paradieses ist, bezeugen zwei Motive, die immer wieder für diese Deutung sprechen: vorn die Andeutung des Wassers mit dem zahnschnittartig gebildeten Ufer und oben die dunklen, stellenweise von hellem Lichte getroffenen farbigen Wolken: die Morgenröte. Dass solche Paradiesesdarstellungen bei Mitgliedern des kaiserlichen Hauses der Moghuln üblich waren, zeigt eine Folge von Blättern in der Sammlung Demotte in Paris. Ich hebe als Beispiel zwei Blätter hervor, die in *Shāh Djahāns* Zeit die Vorgänger Akbars, Bābur und Humāyūn vorführen, wie sie in reichem Rahmen auf einer Insel hocken. Humāyūn auf einem Teppich, mit einem Blatt im Schosse, die Rechte mit einer Blume erhebend, hinter ihm ein blühender Baum. Die Insel wird von Wasser umflossen, dann beginnt eine Trockenlandschaft, die zu einem Berge ansteigt, darüber Morgenwolken. Ich gehe dieser Art Paradiesesdarstellung schon seit meiner Bearbeitung des serbischen Psalters nach. Dort ist der Psalm 23 v. 2/3 "Der Herr gründet die Erde über den Wassern" nach diesem Paradiesestypus dargestellt. Die Insel ist nur durch einen schmalen Erdstreifen mit dem umgebenden Lande verbunden, auf der Insel selbst thront in hellenistischer Art Gāa, die Morgenröte ist durch die Hand Gottes ersetzt, die aus dem Himmelssegment Menschen herabreicht.

Es gibt zwei Denkmäler, in denen die Paradiesesvorstellung die Grundlage einer monumentalen Ausgestaltung bildet, das eine in Persien selbst aus der Zeit des letzten Sasaniden stammend, das andere vom Islam in christlicher Zeit ausgeführt, das Rogerzimmer im Normannenschlosse zu Palermo. Das eine ist die in den anstehenden Fels gearbeitete Grotte in *Ṭāḳ-i-būstān*, über einer Quelle errichtet, mit Lebensbäumen an der Eingangswand und Darstellungen an den Seitenwänden, die bisher nicht in den Kreis der Paradiesesdarstellungen gezogen wurden, obwohl sie auch im Avesta nicht gefehlt haben dürften: die Freuden der Jagd betreffend. Sie gehören mit den Liebesszenen zusammen zu den lockendsten Freuden des Jenseits, werden jedoch am frühesten verweltlicht im Sinne des höfischen Lebens mit seinen Festen. Am *Ṭāḳ-i-būstān* schon sind sie, die bekannte Hirsch- und Wildschweinjagd, in einer Weise naturalistisch etwa im Sinne indischer Kunst durchgebildet, dass von der alten Art des Feuertempel-oder Avestaschmuckes kaum noch etwas übrig geblieben ist. Eher noch scheinen in der bildlosen Art des streng religiösen Mazdaismus gehalten die Jagdbilder in den Mosaiken von Palermo, wo in Streifen geordnet der Bogenschütze zwischen unnatürlich streng geformten Bäumen kniet—ähnlich übrigens wie in der bekannten iranischen Landschaft der Rolle des *Ku ka'i chi* (321–379) im British Museum, so dass auch im Gebiete

der Jagddarstellung der weite Ausschlag des Ausbreitungspendels von Iran aus deutlich bemerkbar wird. Palermo bietet auch Anlass, sich Gedanken über die Ausstattung der Decke des *Ṭāk-i-büstān* zu machen: man darf dort die gleiche in Scheiben endigenden Strahlen erwarten, wie sie schon von den armenischen Kuppelkirchen her bekannt sind, wahrscheinlich auf den Sonnenkult bezüglich und vielfach mit allerhand Tierdarstellungen durchsetzt.

Neben der Jagd muss die Darstellung der Liebesfreuden eine besonders umfangreiche Gruppe schon der altpersischen Miniaturenhandschriften gebildet haben, selbst im Avesta, wenn ich nach der Anregung urteile, die davon im Abendlande zu beobachten ist. Vor allem wird nur auf diesem Wege begreiflich, wie der Liebesgarten dort als religiöses Motiv auftreten und in einem Hauptstück wie dem Frankfurter Schicksalsgarten Christi geradezu wie eine persische Miniatur wirken kann. Die beiden Dreivereine die da durch Maria auf der Rasenbank und das Christuskind vorn im Grase getrennt sind, von Blumen umgeben und um zwei Bäume gruppiert, zwischen denen neben Christus ein Baumstumpf mit Propfreisern neben Teufel und Engel erscheint, das alles lässt sich literarisch und den Gestalttypen nach bis Iran zurückverfolgen ähnlich wie die Minne- und Ritterspiele selbst. Besondere Beachtung verdient die sinnend aus einer Wasserkufe schöpfende Frau, die ebenso bei Giorgione im Pariser Konzert wiederkehrt, bei dem selben Giorgione, der in seiner Familie aus dem Palazzo Giovanelli unmittelbar eines jener bekannten Liebeslieder der *Nizāmireihe* vor Augen zu haben scheint, die Auffindung der *Shīrīn* durch *Khosrau*. Leider sind ältere persische Miniaturen dieser Art nicht erhalten; immerhin gibt der *Khwādjū Qirmānī* des British Museums (Add. 18113), 1396 in Baghdād entstanden eine Vorstellung jener verlorenen Handschriften, die einst die Kreuzfahrer mitbrachten und die im Abendland allmählich einen massgebenden Einfluss auf die Ritter- und Minnepoesie und ihren Bilderkreis gewonnen haben dürften.

Die wichtigste Art der Ausstattung von Feuertempel und Avesta, der eine mit Mosaiken, das andere mit Miniaturen belegt die mazdaistische Hvarenah-Stirnwand von *Mshatta*, die in ihrer linken Hälfte ganz von der aus einer Vase entspringenden Weinranke, bezw. dem Weinstocke bestritten wird, in der rechten Hälfte aber alle die Sinnbilder vereinigt, wie wir sie in sasanidischen Silberschüsseln oder den armenischen Evangeliiaren als sinnbildlichen Schmuck kennen gelernt haben. In den Avestahandschriften muss eine verwandte Art der Ausstattung darin üblich gewesen sein, dass man die heilige Schrift mit Hvarenahrändern umgab, sei es mit der Weinranke selbst oder mit richtigen Hvarenahlandschaften. Für die erstere Art sind die Belege im Abendlande zahlreicher fast erhalten als im Osten in jenen im 15. Jahrhundert dort üblich gewordenen Miniaturenrahmen mit Pflanzen und Tieren in der Art der chinesischen Traubenspiegel. Ich erinnere insbesondere an das bekannte *Breviarium Grimani*, das auch sonst allerhand Erinnerungen an den überreichen Einfluss der persischen auf die abendländische Miniaturenmalerei enthält. Die besten Beispiele findet man freilich immer noch in den persischen Miniaturen selbst, wenn auch die erhaltenen Beispiele zumeist jünger sind, als die Miniaturen, die zwar verloren, aber aus Nachbildungen im Abendlande nachzuweisen sind. Ich erinnere nur an zwei Beispiele.

Einmal an den Weinlaubrahmen von der Art von Mshatta mit Vögeln gefüllt aus einem Djāmī der Sammlung Fr. Sarre. Er zeigt auch jene für die Einteilung der Buchseite kennzeichnende Verschiebung des Bildfeldes nach dem Buchinneren, die schon für die Avestahandschriften vorauszusetzen ist. Dabei ist die Verwendung der alten, schon für die erste Avestaredaktion, die Alexander verbrannt hat, bezeugte Goldtinte in den meisten Fällen noch bis in die Handschriften der Tīmūriden- und Šafawidenzeit wie für die der indischen Grossmoghuln bezeichnend. Sie kehrt selbst in solchen Rahmen wieder, die nicht Zierate mit Tieren und Pflanzen, sondern Landschaften zeigen. Dann scheint die Vorstellung die, dass die heilige Schrift wirklich in die heilige Landschaft gehängt erscheint, also der Geist der Heiligkeit des Buches tatsächlich in der sinnbildlichen Ausstattung auf die Höhe getrieben wird. Die Goldtinte vermehrt diesen Eindruck noch ganz besonders. Solche Landschaften, die unter dem Bildfelde den breiten Boden aufweisen, seitlich in ungleich schmalen Streifen mit Bäumen neben dem Bildfelde aufsteigen und oben wieder in einem breiteren Streifen Wolken zeigen, wie man sagt nach chinesischer, ursprünglich wohl iranischer Art, kehren so ständig in aller persischen und indisch-islamischen Miniaturenmalerei wieder, dass man wohl von vornherein geneigt ist mit einer ganz alten Ueberlieferung zu rechnen. Ich führe sie auf die Ausstattung des heiligen Buches, des Avesta und vielleicht schon der Veden zurück.

Fasse ich den Umkreis all der Beispiele sinnbildlichen Schmuckes zusammen, die unter dem Titel der verlorenen Avestaausstattung gebracht wurden, so entsteht der Eindruck einer Handschriftenausstattung, die darin von vornherein eigenartig ist, dass sie die menschliche Gestalt durchaus in den Hintergrund treten lässt. Jugendliche Gestalten wie Mithras, Orpheus oder der gute Hirte (yima) lassen sich noch am ehesten damit vereinen. Alles das weist auf eine Gesinnung, die der altgriechischen zwar in der schlichten und einfachen Natürlichkeit verwandt, aber in der Ablehnung der menschlichen Gestalt entgegengesetzt und in der ausgesprochenen Neigung zur Heiligkeit im Wege der Gestalten von Zierat, Pflanze und Tier, vor allem aber in der Landschaft selbst ganz einzigartig dasteht.

Es liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass wir es auch in Iran mit einem Zweige indogermanischer Kunst zu tun haben wie in Hellas und Indien, nur lag in Iran die Berührung mit dem Süden bzw. der Antike mit ihrer vorwiegend im Wege der menschlichen Gestalt schaffenden Kunst nicht unmittelbar nahe. Daher hat sich im ostarischen Gebiete, in Iran nordischer Geist reiner erhalten als in Hellas. Was dort die menschliche Gestalt war, blieb in Iran der Zierat und die Landschaft, beide vom Norden übernommen. Für den Zierat bedarf diese Annahme keines weiteren Beleges. Doch gibt es einen solchen auch für die Landschaft und was noch mehr bedeutet sogar für die heilige Landschaft. Dieser überaus wertvolle Beleg ist erhalten in einem Denkmale, das im südlichen Russland ausgegraben wurde, auf einer Silberschale aus dem Maikop'schen Kurgan im Kuban. Diese zeigt in einer geritzten Zeichnung eine Landschaft, oben am Rande muglige und spitze Berge, wie sie noch aus altchinesischen keramischen Landschaftsvasen bekannt sind. Davon laufen nach dem Boden der Schale zwei Flüsse hinab, in ein gemeinsames Becken mündend. Uns beschäftigt hier nicht, welche Gegend etwa dargestellt sein könnte, sondern lediglich die Zugabe von Tieren,

die in dieser Landschaft zweimal in Reihen hintereinander auftreten. Sie umschreiten das eine Mal oben das Gebirge, das andere Mal unten das Wasser. Damit aber ist ein heiliger Brauch, der der Umwandlung gegeben und die Landschaft also dadurch als eine heilige gekennzeichnet. Die Silberschale wird dem dritten Jahrtausend vor Christus zugeschrieben und es ist von Bedeutung, dass ausser Landschaft und Tier im Allgemeinen darauf auch noch zwei später im Besonderen im alten Iran beliebte Sinnbilder gegeben sind, der Bär, der an einem Nadelbaume frisst und der Vogel mit dem Zweige, von dem oben die Rede war. Ich meine also, der Forscher auf dem Gebiete der Bildenden Kunst darf von seinem Arbeitstoffe aus d.h. ganz selbständig die Herleitung iranischen Geistes aus dem europäischen Norden mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen und trägt damit nicht unwesentlich zur Klärung nach der Herkunft der Indoarier, einer Frage bei, die seit einem Jahrhundert alle im Gebiete der Geisteswissenschaften forschenden Gelehrten auf das lebhafteste beschäftigt. Nach dem Gesagten wird es nicht wunder nehmen, wenn wir später im europäischen Norden bei tiefer in Lage, Boden und Blut verwurzelten Künstlernaturen immer wieder das Auftreten der heiligen Landschaft beobachten können, etwa bei den Van Eyck ebenso wie bei Dürer und Rembrandt. Man versteht dann auch, dass bisweilen iranische oder später auch indische Miniaturen, die sich nach Europa verirrt, Einfluss gewonnen haben können, so am Genter Altare, wo in der sog. Anbetung des Lammes neben dieser kirchlichen Ausdeutung die altiranische des Paradieses mit dem Lebensbrunnen in der heiligen Landschaft und den merkwürdigen Bauwerken im Hintergrunde auftaucht, oder in Dürers Weltraumbildern, die wie in dem sog. Allerheiligenbilde in Wien die altiranische Vorstellung vom Beginne des jüngsten Gerichtes bei Anbruch der Morgenröte aufleuchten lassen. Man beachte das wunderbare Aquarell Dürers im Printroom des British Museums. Rembrandt hat ja selbst eine Sammlung indischer Miniaturen besessen; aber auch wenn wir das nicht wüssten, wäre aus dem Verhältnisse von Landschaft und menschlicher Gestalt, der wiederholten Verwendung der Rückenfigur u.dgl. deutlich auf solche Zusammenhänge zu schliessen. Solche Einwirkungen des Iranischen auf Europa liegen schon in jenen altchristlichen Denkmälern vor, die wie in der Sabinatür, den Mosaiken von San Vitale in Ravenna und in der karolingischen Kunst offenbar werden, in letzterer z.B. in den in eine Landschaft gesetzten Evangelisten und besonders in den Gotteslandschaften des bekannten Utrechtsalters.

Ich freue mich zum Schlusse auf eine Arbeit hinweisen zu können, die im *Burlington Magazine* (LVII, 1930), erschien, einen Aufsatz von Sava Popowitch "The Iranian Element in Persian Art." Wenn man dazu noch nimmt, was hier gesagt wurde, dann wird die deutliche Vorstellung einer versunkenen Welt aufsteigen, die einst auf die Entwicklung der Bildenden Kunst besonders im Norden Europas einen ausschlaggebenden Einfluss gewann, aber bis jetzt trotz meines 1917 erschienenen *Altai-Iran* nicht zur Anerkennung durchdringen konnte. Man nehme jetzt meine *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei* dazu und wird dort auch alle Kunstwerke abgebildet finden, die in vorliegendem Aufsätze genannt wurden.

THE POTTERY FRAGMENTS, DESCRIBED AND ILLUSTRATED IN THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE, COME from three separate ruin sites in the archaeological area of Kish in 'Irāk, and were procured by the Oxford University and Chicago Field Museum joint expedition in the winter season of 1930-31 under the direction of the late Louis Charles Watelin, whose recent death in Chile was such a grave loss to Mesopotamian archaeology. The fragments of glazed pottery cover a period from the late tenth or early eleventh century A.D. to the commencement of the fourteenth century. A representative collection of them may be seen in the ceramic section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

The ruins of the ancient city of Kish and its dependencies are about nine miles east of the ruins of Babylon, in the country between the Tigris and Euphrates, which the Arabs call the "Island" or *Djazīrah*. The various temple, palace, tomb, and street areas, as described in the official publications of the expedition, extend four miles in a southeasterly direction. Most of the mounds, both Sumerian and Babylonian, show traces of re-occupation in the Middle Ages. The character of the more easterly mounds, which are shallow, was not however known till the seasons of 1930, 1931, and 1932, when M. Watelin showed that they constituted a Partho-Sasanian city and three Sasanian palaces.¹ Beyond the shallow mounds and over four miles from the expedition headquarters at Tell al-Uhaimir, a long mound, at one point thirty-five feet high, extends another half mile to the east. From the presence of a lonely tree growing near the western end of it, it is known by the Arabs as Abū Sudairah, "the father of the Citrus tree." The mound is bisected by the bed of a former canal running northwards into the ancient *Shatt al-Nīl* canal, which will be referred to later. The mound is so thickly covered with baked brick and glazed pottery debris as to warrant the assumption that it is a whole town. It was even held to be an ancient rival to Kish, perhaps the lost city of Agade, mentioned in the king lists. When excavation was begun in December, 1930, it was partly with a view to ascertaining this, for the presence of a few well known inscribed bricks of Nebuchadnezzar on the surface led one to suppose that it was at least Babylonian.

The remains of an octagonal tower are described by Professor Langdon as Parthian,² but this tower had been long published by Sarre and Herzfeld who surveyed it in 1908.³ It then bore part of a revetment of unglazed hexagonal tiles, similar to those on that famous Baghdad landmark, the so-called tomb of Zubaidah dating from the late twelfth century. The fragments on the surface of the mound, mostly of the highly glazed Syrian type of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as well as the familiar small baked yellow

¹ *Illustrated London News*, February 14 and March 7, 1931.

² "The Excavations at Kish." Paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, April 7, 1930. *Journal of the*

Royal Asiatic Society, 1930, p. 291.

³ F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin, 1911, Band I, p. 246 and Fig. 130, Band III, Plate XXVI.

bricks, showed clearly enough who were the last occupants of Abū Sudairah. The town owed its existence to the *Shaṭṭ al-Nil* canal. This canal, sixty miles long, connected the Tigris with the Euphrates between Būghailah and Babylon, and in its southwesterly course bathed the flanks of the present mound of Abū Sudairah. Called originally the great *Ṣarāt*, the canal is described by the tenth century Arab topographer of 'Irāk, Ibn Serapion.⁴ It dated from Sasanian times and probably was originally Babylonian. According to the regular policy of the Mongol conquerors of 'Irāk in the thirteenth century, its banks were deliberately destroyed (the breaches are clearly visible) and life along it became rapidly extinct, though this was not yet the case when Yāḳūt was writing near the end of the century.⁵ Abū Sudairah is in fact but one of a chain of buried towns and villages, which mark its course; three of these have left monuments which stand almost complete, the isolated towers which go by the strange names of al-ʿĀzibah, Umm al-Aulād, and Abū Ḥaṭab, "the barren woman, the mother of children and the father of firewood."⁶

To clear the rooms on the surface of Abū Sudairah was an easy task. They averaged not more than four feet deep and were clearly defined by standing walls of baked brick. The pottery in these rooms and in the numerous rubbish heaps, was better preserved than at the lower levels, the glaze being less eroded by the damp and alkaline salt that permeates all such mounds in the Kish area. Generally the rooms seemed to have been gutted and gave disappointing results, except in a restricted area on either side of the little canal which bisected the town. Here the houses were much fuller of pottery remains, and these were of a later period, apparently running well into the fourteenth century. There was evidence that this group of houses had been suddenly abandoned, for there were many storage jars, both glazed and unglazed, remaining intact as well as kitchen utensils in iron and bronze, much glass and even fragments of clothing, the coarse black linen worn by the 'Irākī women of today. An indication of their sudden fate was the discoloration caused by fire on much of the finer glazed pottery which could not have been kitchen-ware. It is easy to imagine the sort of Bedouin raid to which these houses, last survivors of a ruined town cut off from its water supply, would have been exposed under the weak rule of the later Mongol *Ilkhāns*, but it is surprising that so much of the contents of the houses should have been subsequently left behind. One may suppose that there was no settled population left to despoil the ruins which became buried in dust in a few years.

To determine the origin of the town a deep sounding was made, proceeding at plain level into the mound to a depth of thirty feet. It revealed seven successive layers of building, but Islamic pottery was found at the lowest level, where the fragments did not appear to be older than the end of the tenth or early eleventh century. This gave the useful data of

⁴ G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 73; M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leyden, 1901; Ibn Serapion, "Canals and Towns of Irak," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, p. 32.

⁵ Yāḳūt, *Muḡam al-Buldān*, Leipzig, 1873, Vol. IV, p. 861.

⁶ F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*; W. K. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana*, London, 1857.

an average fifty years to each layer of building. At the lowest level there were, however, standing walls of mud brick of the dimensions used in Nebuchadnezzar's buildings, and baked bricks with inscriptions of his reign had long been noted on the surface. It was clear therefore that the founders of the town in the Arab middle ages had chosen this spot on account of its rich store of brick, and had even re-utilised standing walls, a peculiarity of the two other mounds excavated, and also of the greater part of the Babylonian mounds in the Kish concession. Between the sixth century B.C. and the eleventh century A.D. there appeared to have been no occupation of the mounds; this would point to an influx of population into the Djazīrah at the latter period. A few Neo-Babylonian figurines were found at the lowest level, but there was no indication of the site being occupied in earlier times, which disposes of the Agade hypothesis.

While work proceeded at Abū Sudairah, a stream of glazed pottery fragments kept coming in via the children of the Kish workmen, one of whom admitted that they were from the mound called Sha'al Ghazna. In fact clandestine excavations were proceeding. This mound is at the extreme western end of the Kish concession in the area of the later town built by Nebuchadnezzar. In 1853 the unlucky French expedition of Jules Oppert, Fresnel and Felix Thomas⁷ made trial soundings here, mistaking the mound for part of the defences of Babylon (they were eight miles out, through following Herodotus' description too literally). As a result the mound was known to be of the Nebuchadnezzar period and the appearance of so much Arab pottery was unexpected. The features of Abū Sudairah were repeated when a trial sounding was made, revealing a Nebuchadnezzar palace, partly re-occupied in the eleventh century. In this case, however, there is only a small group of Arab buildings occupying one angle of the old palace and not in use for more than a century. The pottery by which the Arab site of Sha'al Ghazna is datable at the same period as the lowest level of Abū Sudairah, is mostly of one type, a yellow slip ware with graffiato decoration and mottled painting in green and manganese violet; this ware will be discussed fully later.

About four miles south of Abū Sudairah on the banks of a modern irrigation channel flowing northwards to the Hamdanyeh canal is a considerable mound, called Tell al-Su'aidan. It is quite outside the Kish area and there are no other mounds near it. It is strewn with a peculiar type of pottery, generally painted in black and cobalt under a transparent glaze and found all over 'Irāḳ (see *infra*). Although the distance of the mound from expedition headquarters is eight miles, a trial sounding was made which revealed a situation almost identical with Sha'al Ghazna. The re-occupation of a Babylonian building appeared to date from the eleventh century. The fragments on the surface were somewhat later and may have belonged to less settled occupants.

In the classification of the pottery types which follows I have been guided on the one hand by the stratification at Abū Sudairah, on the other by more or less established data available from such sites as Sāmarrā, Ḥīra and Susa in 'Irāḳ, Damascus, Baalbek and Raḳḳa

⁷ Jules Oppert, *Expedition Scientifique en Mesopotamie*, Paris, 1863.

in Syria, Fuṣṭāṭ in Egypt, Afrāsiyāb in Turkeṣtān, and in Persia, Rayy, Varāmīn and Sulṭānābād.

POTTERY OF "SĀMARRĀ" TYPE—MOTTLED GRAFFIATO DECORATION

The pottery found in the palace excavations of Sāmarrā, seventy miles north of Baghdād, can be dated with precision between the years 838 and 883 A.D.⁸ These dates, therefore, are a "*terminus ante quem*" for several families of glazed pottery, produced over a long period and distributed over the whole Islamic world.⁹ The most famous is the mottled glaze in imitation of Chinese pottery of the T'ang dynasty. At Sāmarrā itself, in the later suburb of Ḳurah, Sarre examined wasters of this kind continuing at least as late as the eleventh century.¹⁰ A whole jar and cover of this type, found in the excavations of Susa, contained coins of the early tenth century¹¹ and other pieces, differing only in small essentials are found in much later Persian sites. Their characteristics, the yellowish slip, the incised designs, and the flecks and splashes of green, brown, and violet became the basis of Italian majolica, while within three centuries of the Sāmarrā Caliphs they appeared at Miletus and Constantinople and even at Theodosia in South Russia.¹² The incised or "Graffiato" ornament does not figure in the original imitations of the Chinese mottled glaze in the palaces of Sāmarrā, but its absence from other pieces argues no priority of date.

In the Kish mounds both types are found contemporaneously. Some fragments from the upper levels of Abū Sudairah, in which either the manganese markings occur alone on a greyish white slip, or bluish green markings alone on a cream slip, must be no earlier than the late twelfth century, though they are simple mottled pieces without graffiato ornament. Sarre, in describing the fragments from Ḳurah, classifies the graffiato wares as those with "Überlaufglasuren" mottled all over, and those with "Überlaufflecken" or occasional markings.¹⁰ The former would appear not to run so late as the latter, one example of which Herzfeld dates epigraphically in the thirteenth century;¹⁰ under this heading should come the greater part of the graffiato fragments from Kish. The "Überlaufglasuren" class is scarcely represented. The design on these is generally incised deeper, is more symmetrical and specialises in the pointed acanthus motif and in a panel-filling resembling fish-scales. Fine examples from Susa¹³ and Hīra¹⁴ appear to date from the tenth century. In the "Überlaufflecken" class, the deep incised lines give way to weak undecided scratching, so that the whole surface is sometimes covered with meaningless scribbles. Sometimes, as in the pot cover from Sha'al Ghazna, illustrated in Figure 1 (Victoria and Albert Museum, No.

⁸ E. Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra*, Berlin, 1923, p. 5.

⁹ R. L. Hobson, *Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East*, British Museum, 1932, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰ F. Sarre, *Der Keramik von Samarra*, Berlin, 1925, pp. 71 and 91.

¹¹ R. Koechlin, *Les Céramiques Musulmanes de Suse*,

Paris, 1928, p. 76, Fig. 112, Pl. XV.

¹² L. von Stern, *Theodosia und seine Keramik*, Odessa, 1906, Pl. VIII.

¹³ R. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVI.

¹⁴ D. Talbot Rice, "The Oxford Excavations at Hira," *Ars Islamica*, Ann Arbor, 1934, Vol. I.

C289, 1931), Hellenistic ornament, notably the Islamic pointed form of the acanthus, is still recognisable. Sometimes the ornament is based on floral Kufic as in Figure 2, and the examples from ʔurah studied epigraphically by Herzfeld.¹⁰ Of this latter type which appears at first glance to carry a real inscription, are Figure 3, *a*, and Figure 4, *a*. This, an almost unique example of a ware with Byzantine affinities, has a particularly reddish body and a slip which is dead white under an almost imperceptible glaze. Since it comes from the lowest level at Abū Sudairah, it may date from the late tenth century, with which period the style of imitation Kufic should agree (Victoria and Albert, No. C258a, 1931). This fine fragment may be imported, for the majority of graffiato fragments found in the Kish mounds, are, like Figure 3, *b* and *c*, and Figure 4, *d* and *g*, common household ware, coarse both in glaze and in body, and invariably patched up with iron rivets (*Fig. 4, b*). They seem to have been the standard pottery of ʔirāk, changing little for three centuries. This is in sharp contrast to the gold metallic lustre wares, so common throughout the same period at Fuṣṭāṭ in Egypt.

At Kish I found very few examples of lustre ware, proving that it was a luxury. This is probably also true of Rayy and the Persian sites, at least till the thirteenth century. In Persia the graffiato technique developed by extending the use of the scraped away portions into the "champlevé" style¹⁵ vulgarly known as Gabrī, a technique suited to the rendering of pictorial subjects. The very few examples of "champlevé" ware found at Kish are to be regarded as importations (see *infra*, under the heading of imported wares). The inhabitants of the Kish sites seem throughout this period to have avoided all save the most abstract ornament in their domestic pottery, a circumstance without explanation, since the present inhabitants are *Shīʔas*, and Mustawfī,¹⁶ describing the neighbouring metropolis of Ḥillah in the thirteenth century, even comments on the bigoted type of *Shīʔa* religion then practiced in the region. Elsewhere, particularly on the upper Euphrates, the mottled graffiato ware was well adapted to figure subjects, witness the British Museum bowl from Aleppo with a horseman¹⁷ and the bowl with a fish, found at Dair al-Zōr, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum.¹⁸

A certain number of pieces from Kish show the graffiato technique on a yellow, sometimes a green ground, without any mottled effects. Such are Figure 4, *e* and *g*, with an intricate design of intersecting circles and Figure 4, *f*, a shallow saucer with a bright yellow ground, like certain Samarḳand pieces, and a very rudimentary line decoration. Of this type there is a bowl nearly whole in the Victoria and Albert Museum (No. C279, 1931) and a small fragment (C253a, 1931) showing what may be part of a figure drawing in the style of contemporary Fuṣṭāṭ graffiato ware. Of many thousands of fragments examined, this was the only one which could possibly be said to contain a figure subject.

¹⁵ R. L. Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁶ Mustawfī quoted in Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 72.

¹⁷ R. L. Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁸ F. Sarre, *Der Keramik im Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin, 1921.

OTHER "SĀMARRĀ" TYPES—IMITATIONS OF PORCELAIN

Other types of glaze found in the German excavations at Sāmarrā, including the gold lustre ware, are very much rarer at Kish. The most common are the imitations of Chinese porcelain. The fragments are devoid of ornament, except for fluting on the outer side, and sometimes a petal shaped lip following the Chinese original. They are frequently greyish, which would seem to be deliberate rather than a fault in execution, since there are so many of a perfect creamy white. Fragments of true imported porcelain are not wanting and also Chinese celadon. These, however, are found only at the surface and were presumably imported in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, from which period also date numerous varieties of Moslem imitations, the question of whose origin must remain vague. The body of these fragments is soft and the glaze flaking, unlike the earlier imitations at Sāmarrā which strive to reproduce the actual body of porcelain. Large fragments of a somewhat celadon colouring, in which the highly fired body is partly vitreous, are common on the surface of Ḥīra and Old Kūfa¹⁴ some thirty-five miles from Kish but are probably tenth century, and earlier in date than the Kish sites. At any rate there was no trace of them in the three mounds excavated.

Two types of glaze from Sha'al Ghazna (eleventh century?) suggest a different Chinese origin. The first has a glaze which is clearly intended to imitate porcelain, the pale bluish colour is something between the crackled Ko ware and the ware known as Ying Ch'ing, common types of the Sung dynasty.¹⁹ A fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum (No. C254, 1931) has a false handle in shallow modelling under the glaze, immediately below an outward flanged lip, a feature that appears Chinese and was common at Sāmarrā. The other type found at Sha'al Ghazna, and also in the lowest level at Abū Sudairah, would seem to be an imitation of Honan ware, famous for its rich black-brown colour and the hares-fur markings called "Temmoku" by the Japanese dealers. Both the smooth lacquer type of surface and the illusion of animal fur are found in the two specimens in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Nos. C290 and C290a, 1931) both fragments have the shallow base covered in glaze, which is characteristic of the earlier Sāmarrā and Susa pieces and both have been patched with rivets. I do not believe that Arab imitations of Honan ware have been noted elsewhere.

White and grey fragments of the porcelain type sometimes have painted designs in blue and green (Victoria and Albert, No. C274-5, 1931). These are common at Sāmarrā, Susa, and Ḥīra¹⁴ (where the blue is stippled) for the earlier period; at the time of the earlier Kish strata, they were being produced in quantity at Rayy in North Persia. Other types equally well distributed at Sāmarrā seem by this time to have gone out of use. Such are the ruby red lustre ware, something resembling that which reappears at Raḡḡa and Ruṣāfa at the end of the twelfth century; such, too, are the saucers in high relief, covered in a monochrome gold lustre, a beautiful type found also at Ḥīra and Susa. Of the earlier period also are the deep

¹⁹ A. L. Hetherington, *The Early Ceramic Wares of China*, London, 1924.

blue monochrome glazed jars with stars and other ornaments in relief. The common blue glaze at Kish is much lighter, and closer to the blue glaze of today. The relief ornaments, a Sasanian tradition, seem to have died out, perhaps in the tenth century.

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD—PAINTING UNDER GLAZE

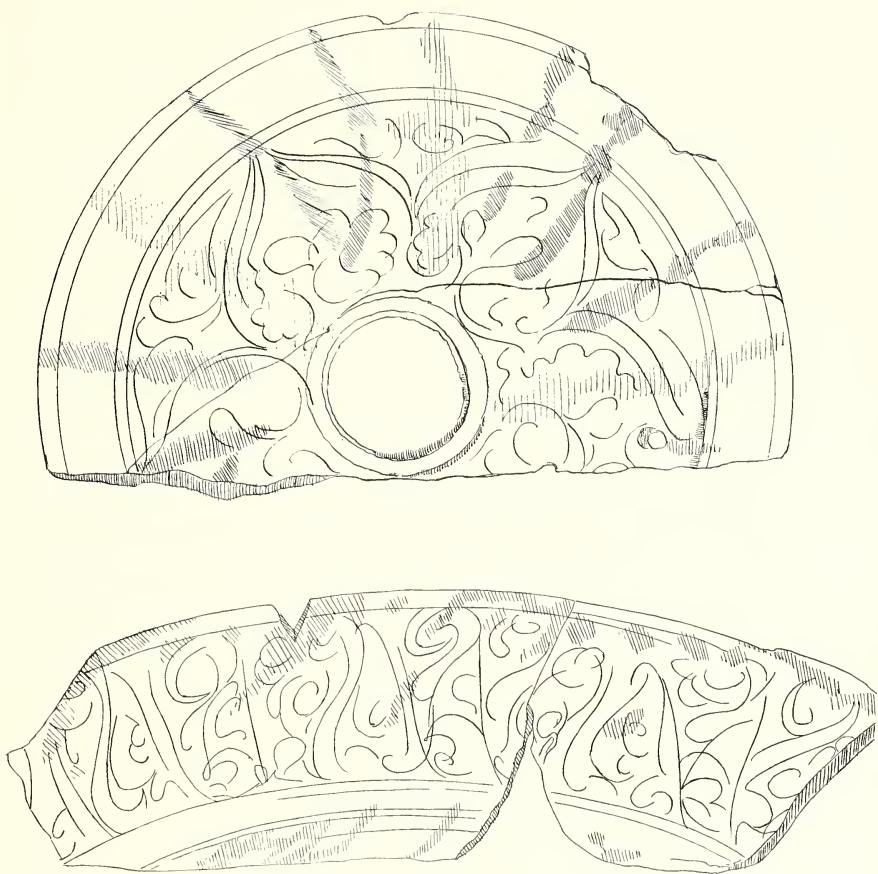
The Fustāt series of fragments shows a complete break in tradition in the twelfth century with the advent of a new technique, that of painting with the brush in two colours either on the actual body or on a white slip, beneath a "couverte" a transparent overglaze of a silicious composition and a greenish blue tint. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the transparent glaze became perfected into a film of tinted glass easily separable from the body. The principal brushwork of the design was at first in a purplish brown obtained from an oxide of manganese, a rather dismal colour scheme, perhaps originally intended as a puritan reaction against gold lustre ware.²⁰ The manganese brown was soon superseded by the far richer contrasts obtained with lamp black applied to a white slip. At about the same time a similar change takes place at Kish. In this case the painting under glaze replaces the graffiato ware. At Kish, however, the use of manganese, always a popular medium with the native potter, continued much longer and it is not till the fourteenth century that black entirely usurps its place, and even then it is of a paler quality, thinner in consistency than in the Egyptian and Syrian pieces and somewhat green through the interposition of the overglaze. The weakness of the black pigment differentiates native from imported wares at this period, when the latter are in the majority in the Kish deposits. The sharp contrast of black on white did not appeal so much to the taste of 'Irāq, and a large proportion of fragments show painting direct on the body of the clay, which is generally grey when seen through the glaze, though originally yellowish. Sometimes there is a slightly yellow or red tone to the glaze itself or a deep blue-green which determines the colour of the bowl; there is accordingly a great variety of appearance in the fragments of this period, but on examination they are found to be technically of one class. Here are the principal characteristics.

Body. In all these wares the clay bakes a grey-buff colour (as opposed to the redder clay of the graffiato ware). It is a heavy clay, containing far less sand than the clay of the Raḳka pieces, and is therefore much less friable. The bases are higher than those of the graffiato ware, which tallies with the late Charles Vignier's method of distinguishing the two main periods of Islamic pottery.²¹ The absence of rivet holes shows that in the twelfth century glazed pottery had become a cheaper commodity, but a new feature is the presence of disfiguring spurs inside the bowls, the simple and unpretentious method by which they were fired one inside the other.

Slip. The foregoing remarks apply, except for isolated cases. In Figure 5, *b*, the usual combination of manganese and cobalt brush strokes have an unusual clarity through a

²⁰ Ali Bey Bahgat and Felix Massoul, *La Céramique Musulmane de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1930, p. 71.

²¹ Charles Vignier, "The New Excavations at Rei," *Burlington Magazine*, July, 1914.



FIGS. 1, 2—GRAFFIATO WARE

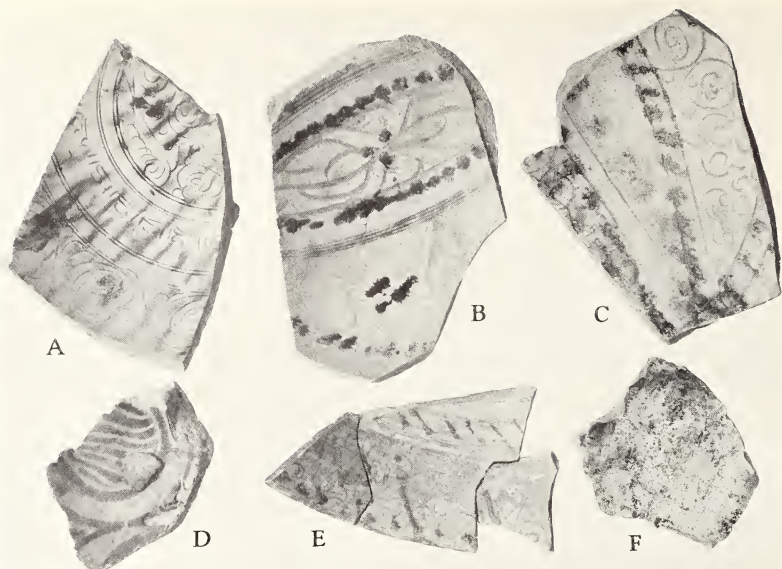


FIG. 3—MOTTLED AND GRAFFIATO WARE

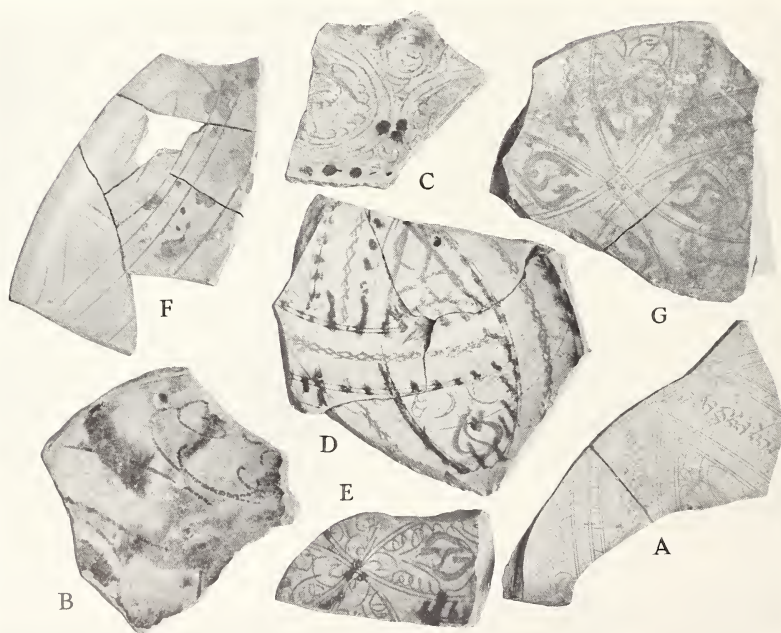


FIG. 4—MOTTLED AND GRAFFIATO WARE

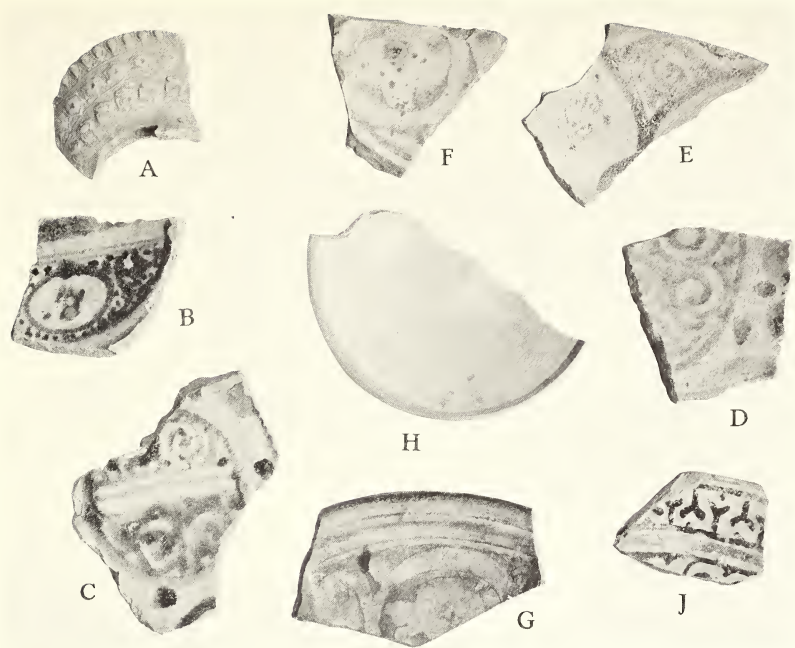


FIG. 5—UNDERGLAZE PAINTING AND OTHER TYPES

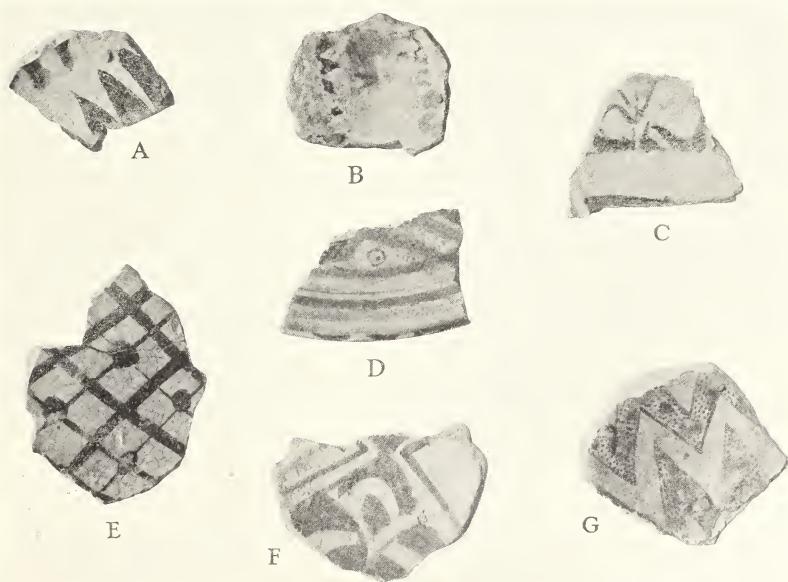
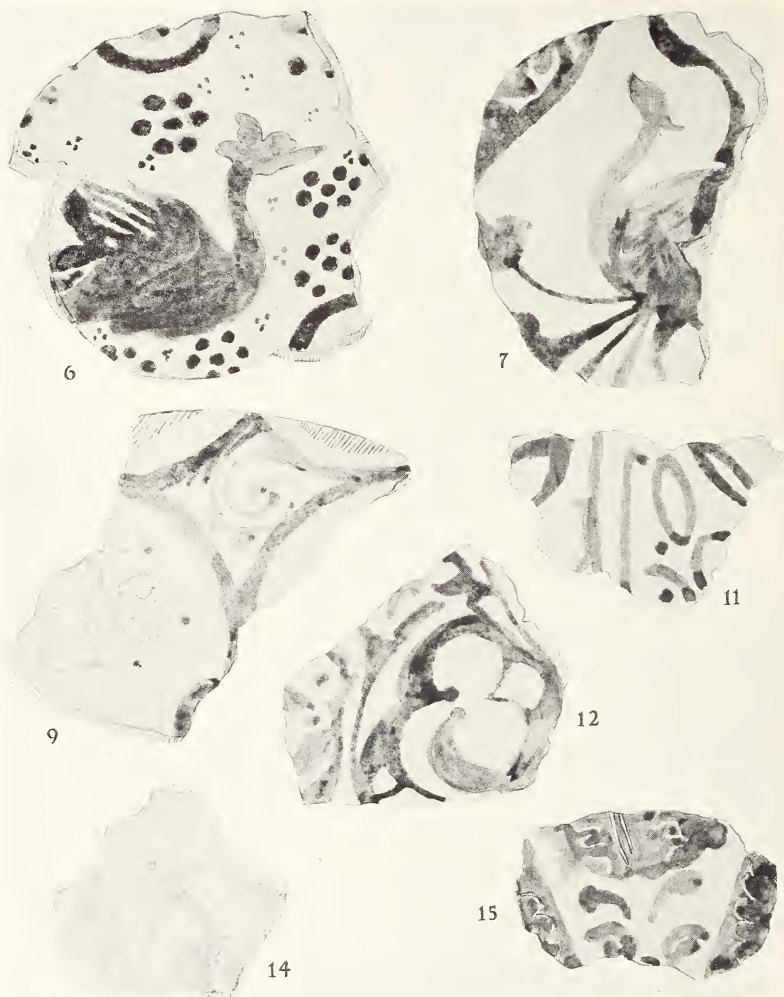


FIG. 8—UNDERGLAZE PAINTING IN BLACK AND COBALT



FIGS. 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14 AND 15—UNDERGLAZE PAINTING

pinkish quality in the glaze over a clean white slip (Victoria and Albert, No. C288, 1931). Figure 5, *c*, *d*, and *e*, of the same type, are far more sombre.

Glaze. The true transparent overglaze in Egypt and Syria from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries (in Persia in the fourteenth century only) is a layer of greenish glass, seamed with long cracks, forming a deep pool at the bottom of the bowl, where it often renders the design cloudy and obscured, and forming thick green tears, where it has been allowed to trickle towards the base. Figure 6 is one of the few fragments in the local tradition, that reaches a high degree of vitreosity. For instance Figure 7, which so strongly resembles it, is in a mat glaze that does not form tears on the outside.

Brushwork. There are several kinds to be met with, some formal and geometrical, which appear to have been assisted by tracings, and others freehand and calligraphic like the reeds in Figure 10, *d* (Victoria and Albert, C256, 1931). A kind of stippling in individual blobs is sometimes resorted to, which recalls the same technique in the Sāmarrā, Rayy and other gold lustres of the earlier period. Examples of this decoration are Figures 5, *b*, and 8, *g*.

Design. Some of the motifs of decoration occur in Syrian pottery. Until a corpus of Syrian pottery is available it will, however, be impossible to determine what is of local origin. There are no publications treating the subject of Syrian pottery as such, except for some uncorrelated monographs on different sites,²² the large material in the Victoria and Albert museum is still uncatalogued. Of purely abstract designs, forming the greater bulk of the fragments, Figure 8, *a*, *b*, *e*, and *g*, are typical. They are all painted direct onto the pottery body, the brownness of which is possibly enhanced by a yellow tone in the glaze. Cobalt or light green is used sparingly in the brushwork to set off the black. The basis of most such designs is the diaper and the zigzag, of which latter class Figure 8, *g*, is an attractive example. These primitive designs, like much of the "Gabri" champlévé pottery of North Persia, came probably from centres of minor political importance and are in fact "peasant" pottery. The Victoria and Albert Museum acquired fragments of this kind from 'Irāk in 1922 (Nos. C630, 649, 651, 652, 1922) but the site is not recorded.

Of foliage designs a common form is a circular panel decoration filled with vine scrolls (Fig. 5, *b-e*, and Fig. 9) which recall the earlier more Hellenistic tradition of the Sāmarrā gold lustre. The developed Arab style in its full vigour and comparable to the best Raḡḡa pieces appears in the drawing of reeds in the fragment of a very large bowl (Fig. 10, *d*). Stratigraphically it would not seem to be much earlier than the year 1200, a date borne out by what little is known of the Raḡḡa pieces; Figure 8, *f*, shows the type of foliage ornament which is most common at Kish, a wedge shaped leaf, found also in a few rarer Raḡḡa pieces. It is not certain that all bowls reputed to come from Raḡḡa were really dug up there, or if they were, that they were actually made there. This type may well be an importation.

²² F. Sarre, *Keramik der Islamische Zeit von Baalbek*, Berlin, 1925; J. Sauvaget, *Poteries Syro-Mesopota-*

miennes du XIV^e siècle, Paris, 1932.

With the advent of underglaze painting there is some relaxation at Kish in the severely abstract limitation of ornament, and some of the fragments depict the herons and wild geese dear to the 'Irāḳī peasant. Sometimes these are combined with the reed motif as in Figure 10, *a* and *c*, and in Figure 7, which show a storklike creature, half bird and half plant.

Sometimes bowls of this type show a combination of techniques, the black painting under the glaze being deeply incised. Figure 3, *d*, shows the base of a bowl thus treated. A large fragment, found in the Nahrawān area east of Baghdād, showed that such a base could be part of a bowl exhibiting the usual painting in two colours under glaze. A still further variety is achieved by coating the entire surface in black and treating the black as a slip, scraped away to form a champlévé decoration under a thick blue-green glaze. This is common at this period both to Raḳḳa and Rayy. In some of the Kish fragments of this type the green glaze had turned, through some chemical cause, almost entirely into a dull red. The effect of the black champlévé decoration against the red being very pleasing, it is probable that the accident became deliberate. Figures 11 and 12 (Victoria and Albert, Nos. C263 and C263a, 1931) have a ground almost entirely red; No. C261, in the same collection, shows the blue-green unchanged, while other fragments show that this was liable to occur when the blue-green glaze was applied as a monochrome.

THE LATEST PERIOD

The thirteenth century brings another great change in the character of the fragments at Kish. It is now foreign wares that are most in evidence and the damp in the soil brings to the surface thousands of glittering sherds of the famous Damascus blue. It is astonishing to what a degree finely decorated glazed pottery must have been used at this time by the inhabitants of a small and already decaying provincial town. Luxurious wares which, if anything like whole, would be the envy of collectors, are quite common; such are the gold lustres on a deep lapis blue glaze, and blue and white pottery closely imitating the Chinese bowls of the Yuan period, forerunners of the great imperial Ming wares. Figure 13, *b*, *c*, and *d*, shows Syrian pieces, the two latter resembling fragments from Baalbek in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum.²² At this period gold lustre ware on a white ground was common at Raḳḳa, Sulṭānābād, Kāshān and Rayy. At Abū Sudairah, however, it is again almost entirely lacking, except for a few fragments of tiles from the region of the octagonal tower. There is, however, one lustre fragment which is somewhat remarkable (*Fig. 14*, Victoria and Albert C297, 1931). The lustre is brilliant red on a greyish glaze and the fragment is part of a large bowl, over an inch thick at the base. It has the typical local body. Two other types of the last years of Abū Sudairah are at least to be considered as 'Irāḳian and not Syrian. The first of these is in the same technique as the bulk of the wares just described, painted under glaze in black and cobalt on a white slip, and comparable in the quality of its finish to examples from Syria. Like Syrian pottery of the fourteenth century, its chief inspiration seems to be Chinese, but there is a weakness and formality in the drawing that suggests a provincial origin. The best specimen of this class is the bowl of which two fragments are

in the Victoria and Albert Museum (No. C294, 1931) reproduced in Figure 13, *a*. It was found in one of the houses at Abū Sudairah, showing signs of later occupation. It is not hard to seek an origin for these would-be realistic plant forms in the art of the Yuan and early Ming dynasties. The bolder sheaves which divide the panels are more vigorous and at once recall Raḳḳa. A more formalised and meaningless plant is shown in Figure 15. It would be important to ascertain the distribution of this curious ware, the last fine pottery to be produced in this region, if not in the whole of 'Irāḳ. I was not able to find any in the Nahrawān region, but there was far more of it than at Abū Sudairah, on the site of al-Nīl or Nilliyah, a deserted city twenty-five miles east of the Kish area. We know something of this town, the metropolis of the central *Djazīrah* according to the early Arab topographers²³ and still imposing with the ruins of its Friday Mosque and the bridge al-Masi over the now dry *Shaṭṭ al-Nīl*. Founded by Hadjḍjādī, the famous governor of 'Irāḳ to the Omayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik about the year 700 A.D., it seems to have passed out of existence six or seven centuries later like Abū Sudairah. Unlike Abū Sudairah, Sarre and Herzfeld were able to notice the remains of pottery kilns at Nilliyah.

The second locally produced ware of the last period at Kish is illustrated in Figures 16 and 17. Sarre describes it as follows:¹⁸

"On the old *Shaṭṭ al-Nīl* canal in Babylonia, especially in the ruin area of Nilliyah, a wide-spread ceramic industry is indicated by slag heaps and the remains of stands used in firing pottery. Characteristic of the *Shaṭṭ al-Nīl* area is a thick ware of a yellowish well strained clay, the design being painted under the glaze in brown, blue, and green with or without a slip. The smooth glaze, as highly fired as the body, and generally crackled, is quite transparent and, when there is no slip, makes use of the original yellow body as a greenish grey background to the free-hand strokes of the design. The designs on the bowls and saucers of which unfortunately we only found fragments show brownish-green concentric circles in the centre and on the outer edge a ring of pointed ovals like the eyes in a peacock's tail."

From this description it will be seen that its technical features are similar to the wares of the twelfth century before the mass importation of Syrian pottery. The brownish green of the brushstrokes is an exaggeration of the weakness in the black used in the earlier types and in general this ware, which Sarre considers to be a local product of the *Shaṭṭ al-Nīl* banks, is a decadence of the earlier wares. Sarre compares the peacock tail motif to the design on the outer side of a bowl in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, which is clearly North Persian and early fourteenth century; the floral design on the inside suggests Sultāniya. Oddly enough he compares this design to that on a T'ang bowl, whereas it is clearly to be compared with the early blue and white ware of the Yuan period with which it is contemporary. Apart from the peacock tail motif there seems little reason to associate this formal

²³ Ibn Serapion, Balādhuri, Ibn Rosta, Ibn Hauḳal, Muḳaddasī, Abu-l-Fidā, Yāḳūt, quoted by Le Strange,

Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 73.

Chinese-looking bowl with the rough peasant pottery of the *Shatt al-Nil*; nevertheless there is a distinct connection with North Persia. Among the many fourteenth century types found at Varāmīn, south of Tehrān, is one with simple geometric decoration in manganese and blue green carried out in crude wide brushstrokes on a rough white slip that much resembles some of the fragments described by Sarre. The thickness of the body, the bellying curves, as opposed to the straight sides of earlier wares, and the outward curving lip, are also common to Varāmīn pottery. The peacock tail motif itself would appear to be sometimes the corruption of a plait as in Figure 17, *c*, and sometimes a variant of the pointed acanthus as in Figure 16, *c*. It is a conservative sort of pottery which has none of the usual Chinese features of the fourteenth century; in the style of draughtsmanship alone it might be two centuries earlier. The palid green and brown brushstrokes on a grey surface have a strange affinity with the beginnings of European polychrome glazed pottery at Orvieto in Italy and Paterna in Spain, with which the *Shatt al-Nil* ware should be almost exactly contemporary. In ornament, however, there is no similarity, and the resemblance of colour may, after all, be a coincidence due to crude methods and cheap materials. Figure 16, *b*, and the whole bowl, Figure 17, *b* (Victoria and Albert Museum, Nos. C244 and C245, 1931), show the radiating bands which are a common feature of almost all Islamic pottery of the twelfth-fourteenth centuries, but radiating from eccentric points, an unpleasing variation which is also encountered in the black on white slip designs of the twelfth century described earlier. Indeed this would seem to be a trick of the 'Irākī potter for it does not occur in Syrian or Persian pottery, nor can I find it in the Samarqand and Khorāsān fragments, which also show a "peasant" tradition based on similar elementary forms. Figure 16, *c* (Victoria and Albert museum, No. C249, 1931), though of this family, has technical peculiarities. The design seems to be painted in pale blue on a white slip very much crackled which appears somewhat pinkish through the overglaze, all perhaps the results of haphazard firing. A really enormous quantity of this ware was found in rubbish heaps along the sides of the canal bed which divides the two mounds of Abū Sudairah, and where, as has already been said, occupation was longer and denser than in the greater part of the site. It was the household ware of poor people, and a high technical standard is not to be expected of it. Nevertheless it represents a very individual local tradition still capable of vigour.

UNGLAZED WARES

Finely decorated unglazed ware is common in all periods and countries of Islam. The storage jar or "*hubb*," the funnel necked water bottle with a perforated filtre and the portable pilgrim flask, all in soft porous clay to keep the contents cool, are the essential equipment of every moslem family unchanged in thirteen centuries. The earliest decoration is either scratched with a point or applied in relief with a pipette onto the soft clay by the process known as barbotine. The scratched designs are common to this day and almost impossible to date, but the barbotine process seems to go out of fashion about the twelfth

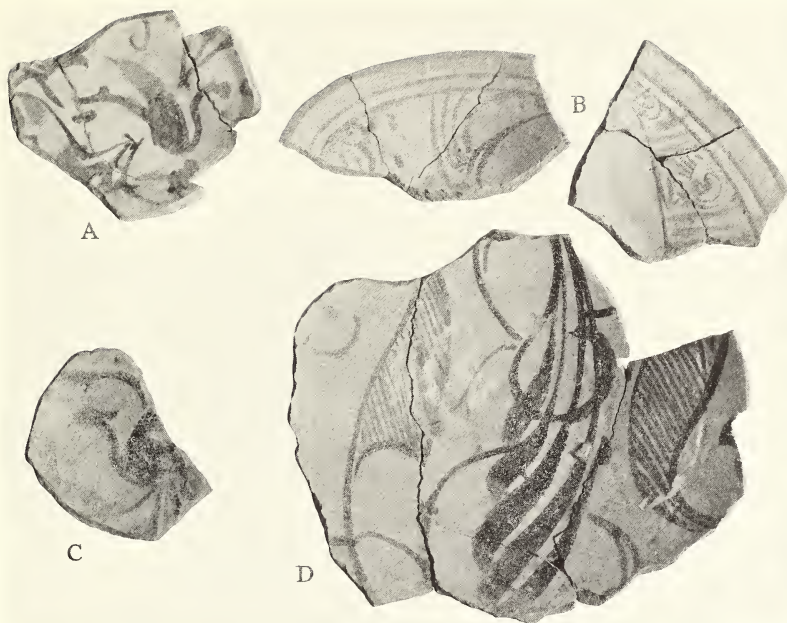


FIG. 10—UNDERGLAZE PAINTING, BIRD AND REED MOTIFS

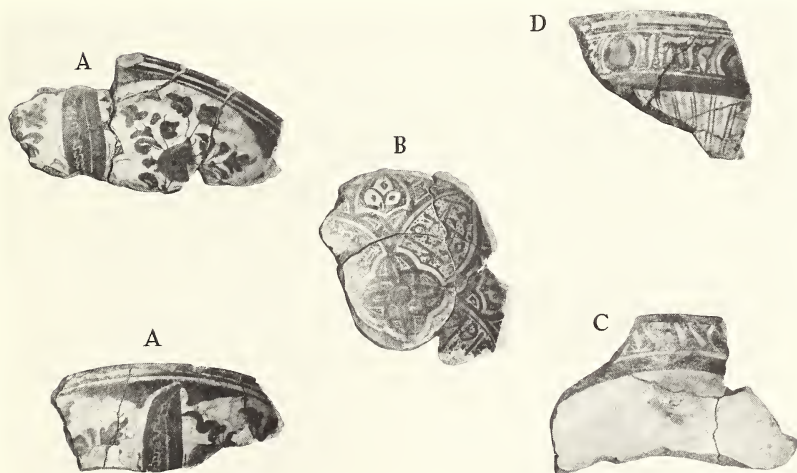


FIG. 13—FOURTEENTH CENTURY WARES

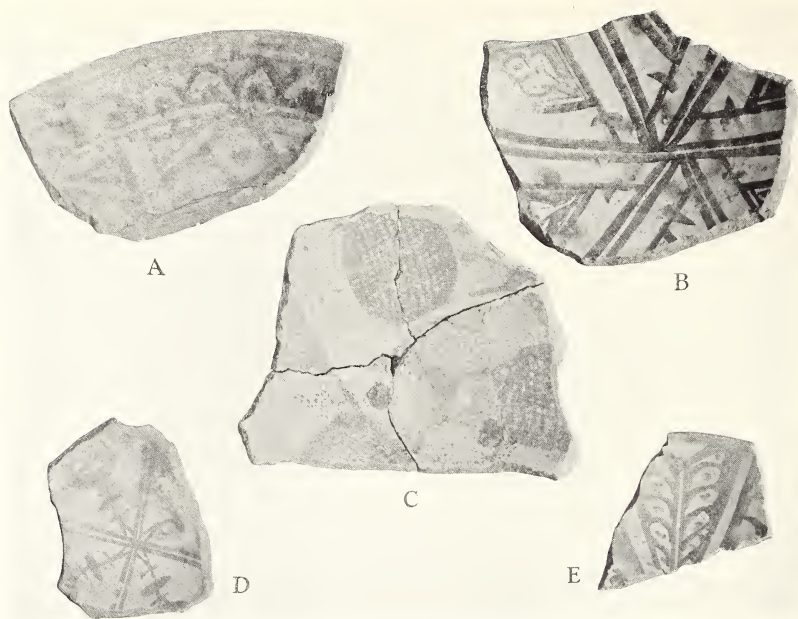


FIG. 16—NILIYYAH POTTERY

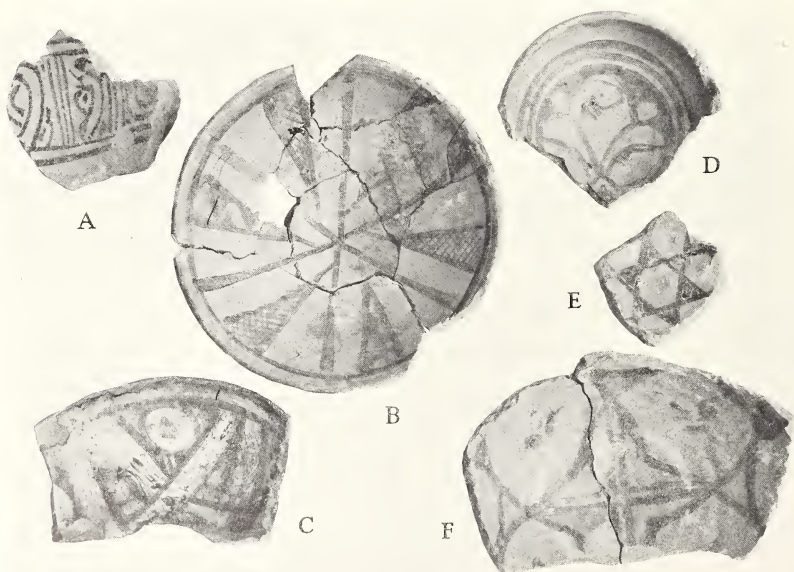


FIG. 17—NILIYYAH POTTERY

century and occurs only in the lowest deposit at Abū Sudairah. Sāmarrā yielded fine specimens, and also the Christian cemeteries of Tekrīt and Nabī Yūnis on the upper Tigris and places further North into Kurdestān.¹⁸ In the twelfth century it is replaced by moulded pottery in lower relief. The sumptuous water bottles from Rayy in North Persia, embellished by applications of gold leaf and coloured enamels, are the most famous.²⁴ Although Abū Sudairah yielded a vast quantity of moulded fragments, mostly fourteenth century, there were no traces of such polychromy, perhaps beyond the means of the inhabitants. The designs being made *en masse*, it is possible to find them duplicated, but their variety is enormous. They are mainly to be regarded as local products, since the moulded ware, found in such abundance at Baalbek²² and at Ṣalhiya near Damascus²² is much higher in relief, more formal in ornament and contains features not found at Kish, such as human figures, lions, and armorial blazons similar to the Mamlūk slip ware of Fustāt.²⁵ The avoidance of animal forms, so marked at Kish, is again apparent. Figure 5, *a*, however, shows an agreeable frieze of ducks. Figure 18 is a fragment on a larger and bolder scale from Tell al-Su'aidan with part of an inscription in floral kufic that should not much postdate 1100. Figures 19 and 20 are random examples of the moulded ware.

FOREIGN WARES

The Syrian wares which provide the bulk of the surface fragments have been already alluded to. Foreign wares appear less profusely at Kish in the earlier deposits but in this case the importations are from the East rather than the North and West. Shā'al Ghazna yielded a few fragments painted in black and red on a yellow slip, typical of the rubbish heaps of Afrāsiyāb outside Samarḳand and which date from the late tenth century (Figure 5, *j*, Victoria and Albert Museum, C269, 1931). Similar wares have, however, been found in Khorāsān and may run somewhat later. The fragments from Shā'al Ghazna are certainly imported, and with them are to be associated fragments painted in bright green and manganese on a vivid mustard yellow slip which betray the same origin (Victoria and Albert, C262 and C262a, 1931). The body of these Central Asian or Khorāsān fragments is far redder than that of the local ware. It is, however, difficult in most cases to decide whether a suspected piece is of Persian or local origin, because, as the late Charles Vignier points out, the differences of paste and body by which alone this question can be decided are not apparent before the twelfth century, up to which point Islamic pottery is more or less one family.²⁷ This was shown to be true of that typical early Rayy ware, the pottery with a white slip and figure and animal subjects in ribbed relief painted in several colours, wasters of which were found by M. de Lorey in a kiln site near Raḳḳa.²⁶ Small fragments of this came out of the lower levels of Abū Sudairah as also fragments of the white "egg-shell" pottery

²⁴ R. L. Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

²⁵ Ali Bey Bahgat and F. Massoul, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIX.

²⁶ Charles Vignier, "Notes sur La Céramique Persane," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, II, September 3, 1925.

with occasional blobs of cobalt and petalled lip, which is also associated with Rayy. Half of a small cup bore a decoration representing a hare, carried out in this blobbed technique. It is therefore not clear whether we have here massed importations from Rayy or the earlier and less known pottery activity of the upper Euphrates. The same doubt attaches to Figure 5, *f* and *g* (Victoria and Albert Museum, Nos. C259, C259a, 1931), examples of a champlévé slip ware with green splashes and stylised figures of animals (Figure 5, *g*, is certainly a camel), associated with Yāškand near Garūs in Ardilān²⁷ and other northwest Persian sites. In the present state of our knowledge these also may as well be Syrian as Persian. At a later period there is a duplication of designs between Raḡḡa and Sulṭānābād. At Kish there are many fourteenth century fragments, painted under glaze in grey and white, the ornament being partly in relief, which may come from the Sulṭānābād region, or from Syria. With the Chinese importations one is on safer ground. The Arab potters were never able to reproduce the true porcelain or even the semiporcelainous clays of the Sung dynasty. Figure 5, *h*, is of this latter class. The fluting on the outer side and the unglazed rim mark it as a piece of the Ting type, such as were in ordinary kitchen use in China and were found in abundance on the site of Kuluhsien, overwhelmed by a flood in 1108.²⁸

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

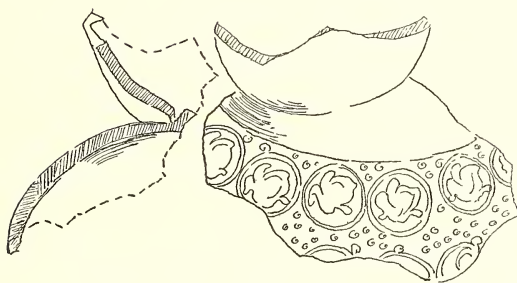
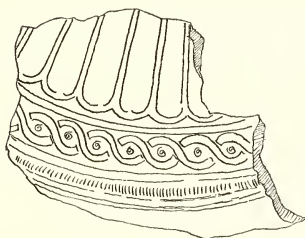
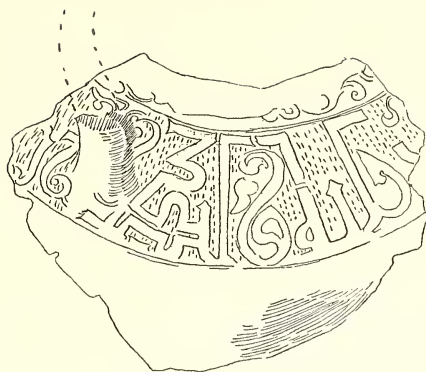
The Kish region yields a number of fragments of wares which are unrepresented in museums or private collections; the material helps to bridge a gap in ceramic history. Yet the site is one of only ordinary importance; there were no hordes of whole pots sealed up in large vessels, as have been found in some of the Persian sites and no remains of kilns with their accompanying wasters. All the pottery came from the houses of humble people and might have been found in any of hundreds of mounds along the old dried up water-courses of 'Irāḡ, where for miles the soil is littered with baked brick, and gleams with the glaze on thousands of tiny pottery fragments. Abū Sudairah was so humble and obscure that there is no clue even to its name. Nillīyyah was its own metropolis and this town, casually mentioned by a few topographers, was able in its decline, when already mostly ruined, to produce its own local style in pottery. What riches must await the excavator who probes into the great Mesopotamian cities of the middle ages. These cities stand today in untilled land, unspoiled and unconfused by subsequent occupants. Asiatic cities, like Asiatic rivers, are inclined to wander afield and leave their beds. Such are old Kūfa and old Baṣra, Anbār, Ḥadīthah, Wāsiṭ, and Nahrawān, great towns whose walls, streets, and public buildings are clearly marked in the layout of shallow mounds, that await the spade of the excavator in a land where labour is cheap and plentiful.

My appeal is to the government of 'Irāḡ, inheritors of a magnificent museum. For half a century pottery sites in the East have been plundered to gratify the appetites of collectors.

²⁷ R. L. Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Correction in review by Arthur Upham Pope in *The Art Bulletin*, Chicago,

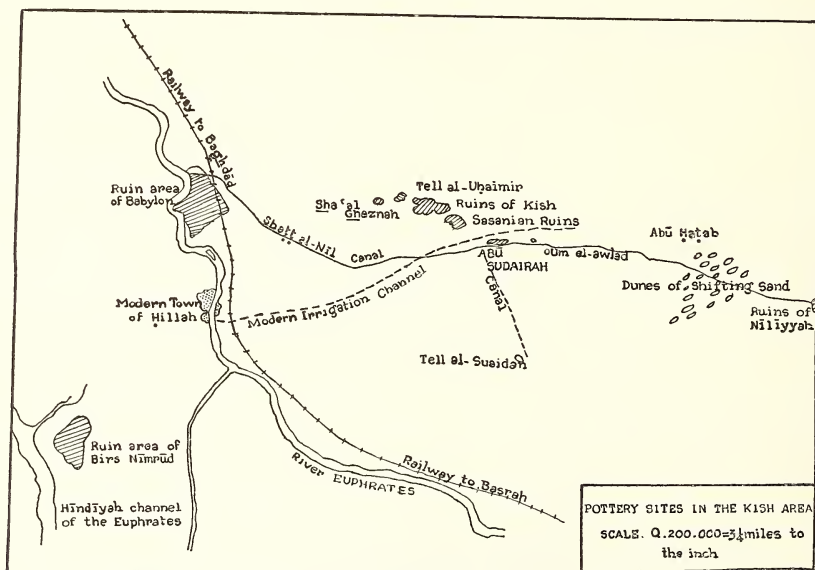
XIV, 4, 1932.

²⁸ A. L. Hetherington, *op. cit.*, p. 91.



FIGS. 18, 19 AND 20—UNGLAZED WARE

Generally the digging has been clandestine and the excavator has been obliged to conceal or falsify the origin of his find. The result is that there is a vast amount of pottery brought to light, and next to nothing is known about it. Fragments in themselves of no value may by their inter-association clear up many vexed problems. The documented sounding of a pottery mound is better than a whole dealer's stock-in-trade, skilfully restored and made appetising for the customer in London, Paris, or New York.



FRANCISQUE-MICHEL'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TERMINOLOGY OF ISLAMIC FABRICS

BY ADELE C. WEIBEL

SOMETIMES IT HAPPENS THAT WE OPEN AN OLD BOOK TO LOOK UP SOME REFERENCE AND become engrossed in its contents. We are anxious to share our enjoyment with others, but the present generation is so completely under the spell of the decimal system that it requires some special anniversary, a centennial at least, to redeem such a book from the oblivion of dusty shelves.

Eighty-three years ago a French antiquary, Francisque Xavier Michel of Lyons, published his *Recherches sur le commerce, la fabrication et l'usage des étoffes de soie, d'or et d'argent et autres tissus précieux en Occident, principalement en France, pendant le moyen âge*. At that time Francisque-Michel occupied the chair of foreign literature at the university of Bordeaux, had made a name by his editions of French, English and Saxon manuscripts of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries and by his *Histoire des races maudites de la France et de l'Espagne*. In his perusal of medieval romances and inventories he became interested in textile art and his friendship with Yemeniz, bibliophile and silk manufacturer, brought about the publication of the *Recherches*.

A translation of this fascinating work would be futile, its main charm lies in the *esprit gaulois*; we can, however, cull a few flowers from this rich posy by presenting Francisque-Michel's contributions to the terminology and definition of Islamic fabrics.

SAMIT

Of all medieval fabrics the most costly, most fashionable was the *exametum*, called also *examitum*, *xamitum*, *sciamitum*, *samita*, *samitum*, Latin translations of the Greek ἐξάμιτος. Samit was used widely, not only for ecclesiastical vestments but also for tents, mattresses, cushions, and bookcovers, all of which points to the fact that samit must have been a stout fabric. In the 12th and 13th centuries samit was used only by the noble and the wealthy. In the romances all the handsome women and elegant young men wear "samit freis et vermeil," "blanc samit," "samit ouvré à oissiaus"; after the battle of Hastings Harold was buried in a shroud of purple samit.

In the 12th century samit was much used in Egypt and Persia. The Patriarch of Jerusalem informed Pope John II, that Saladin wears a turban of red samit, and the fabrics sent to Europe often had Arab inscriptions in lieu of ornament. Whenever Latin historians tell of the taking of an eastern city, they mention samit as an outstanding part of the booty and in the Chanson d'Antioche brave barons are praised for helping themselves to dromedaries loaded with samit.

Samit was always a welcome gift; in 1151 the emperor Manuel Comnenos sent a handsome piece of samit, *exsamitum optimum*, to Wibald, abbot of Corbey and Stavelot, and the archbishop and republic of Pisa received from him similar silks every year. A piece of green samit, sent to Thomas à Becket by the cardinal Theodwin, may have been cut up for

chasubles and other vestments similar to those which the Saint, then in exile, presented to the cathedral of Sens.

Green samit was especially fashionable, since even in Shakespeare's time it was the outward sign of being in love, although Chaucer calls it the colour of fickleness: "instede of blew thus may ye were al grene."

Green dresses are mentioned by Boccaccio and Ariost, and the anonymous author of *Wigalois*—really a translation of Gui le Gallois—furnishes his knight with a banner of "samit, grüne alsam ein gras" riding a black horse decked out similarly with a "kovertiure von samite grüne alsam ein gras and tunchel rot als ein bluot."

From early times samit was sometimes woven with contrasting colours in warp and weft, such fabrics were called *cangium*, *canceum*, *camzeum* in the 12th and 13th centuries, later *transformatus* and *mutatorius*. *Samyt cangant* is mentioned repeatedly in an inventory of the count of Flanders, of 1311; as an oriental fabric, *d'oultremer*, once as of Tartar origin, in the inventory of Charles V of France.

CENDAL

Next to samit, the fabric most often mentioned in the later middle ages is *cendal*, *cendax*, *cendex*, *cendel*, *zendel*, while often the two fabrics are confused, samit and cendal used indiscriminately for the same fabric. The main difference seems to have been in the weight, samit was heavy while cendal, though strongly woven, was a light weight fabric, especially suited for banners and pennons. Thus the banner of Saint Denis, the famous oriflamme, was made of "cendato simplice textum, splendoris rubei," the royal banner of France showed fleur-de-lys on azure cendal, the banners of Flanders and Leon were of golden-hued cendal.

The thinness of the fabric is often used as a simile, a cuirass offers no more resistance than cendal.

Vermilion was the preferred colour for cendal, to judge from the many descriptions not only of banners and pennons, but also of bed furnishings, mattress and cushion covers and hangings. But there were also green and blue cendal, more rarely black, grey, yellow and striped "partis," and sometimes cendal was painted, two pieces are mentioned in the inventory of Charles V, of yellow cendal "de quoy l'un est paint à chasteaulx, à rivières et à gens par maniere de mappemonde, et l'autre à bestes et à oiseaulx."

Cendal was imported from the Orient not only by way of the Mediterranean, but also across the Black Sea, hence *cendal de Russie*, brought from China by caravans, *cendaux moult beaux* like those which Marco Polo mentions more than once. *Cendales d'Adria*, in the 12th century Poema del Cid, probably refer to Venetian imports from the Levant.

The light weight of cendal rendered it a useful material for quilted linings, so fashionable in the 13th and 14th centuries, adopted directly from eastern custom. Red cendal is recommended for wiping inflamed eyes and, possibly for its supposed wholesomeness, was the fabric favored by the doctors of physic for their costume.

As a variant of cendal we find *tiercelin*, also *cendal tiercelin*, *tiersain*, *tierchelin*, less expensive, woven, probably, of silk, linen and wool, used mostly for linings. The Italians called it *terzanella*, the Spanish *tercianela*, *tercencles*, Clavijo, in his *Vida del gran Tamorlan*, enumerates *tercenales* among the silk fabrics "que se facen en Samarcante muchos."

SIGLATON

In the 12th and 13th centuries *siglaton*, Arab *siklatun*, seems to have enjoyed as high favor as samit and cendal. A strong fabric, it seems to have been used for splendid shrouds and, like cendal, we find it used as a simile "les tranchent com panz de *ciglaton*."

Siglaton was worn by ladies and elegant cavaliers, by the Cid and his daughters and by the Arthurian knights. Chaucer represents Sir Topas clad in a robe "of *ciclaton* that coste many a jane."

The magnificently embroidered saddle covers of the horses, especially in parades and tournaments, often were of siglaton. That even the Knights Templars indulged in such luxurious horse trappings is reported by St. Bernhard. The Christian knights simply copied the example of their eastern adversaries, Marco Polo found the same custom in China, where not only the horses but also the five thousand elephants of the Great *Khān* were all covered with cloths of silk and gold, worked with birds and beasts.

The most highly prized siglaton came from Baghdād, by way of Alexandria, and besides the Arab form *siklatun* we find *sekerlat*, and *eskerlat*, hence scarlet; siglaton is most often described as *vermeil*.

DIASPER

With samit, cendal and siglaton and other precious fabrics woven in the East during the latter Middle Ages, we often find "diasper of Antioch" mentioned in inventories of churches and private individuals. But contrary to those mostly strongly coloured fabrics, diasper—*diasperus*, *diaspero*, *diapretum*, *diapre*—was of intensive white, possibly giving the effect of two tones of white in the combination of different weaves, cloth or twill with floated patterns. Thus we explain "diapre ouvré à eschaquier," "blanc diaspre menuement ouvré à esquiéié," the stressing of the "œuvre menue," the small pattern in general. Diasper was furthermore brocaded with gold, sparingly, we find "dyapre à florettes d'or," "dyapre à bendes d'or," and all through the 14th century diasperi were the most coveted output of the Lucca looms, the exorbitant price asked by the Lucca merchants is preserved in French bills.

BALDACHIN

In the English romance of "Arthour and Merlin" we are told "of *baudekines* and purpel *pelle*, of gold and silver and cendel"; "chier drap *baudekin*" is found in the 12th century romance of Anséis de Carthage, *balanquines* in a 13th century Spanish poem, *baldekin* in Heinrich van Veldeken's *Eneidt*, and *baldeluno*, possibly a copyist's error for *baldekino*, in an Italian charter of 1197.

From the many descriptions we gather that baldachin, a silk fabric lavishly patterned in gold or silver, was favored for regal apparel and for presents, because, generally called "pretiosus," "pretiosissimus," it was very costly. When the count of Luxemburg was consecrated Roman emperor Henry VII in 1308, he presented to the Three Kings of the cathedral of Cologne "three baldachins, very costly, adorned with orphreys" and when, in 1311, he placed the Lombard crown on his head in Milan, he rode a huge steed beneath a dais of purple samit and costly baldachins.

The name baldachin is derived from Baghdād, the romances speak of it repeatedly as brought from "Baudas." Marco Polo tells how "in Baudas they weave many different kinds of silk stuffs and gold brocades, such as *nasich* and *nac* and *cremosi* and many others richly wrought with figures of beasts and birds."

Nac, nak, naque, nachiz, nassiz, a sort of brocade, according to Ibn Baṭūṭa, was woven also at Nīshāpūr and much worn by wealthy people in Tartary. Acca appears to have been the main trading center for this fabric, for *nac* is sometimes also called *drap d'Ache* or simply *Acca*.

Cremosi, cramoisi, cremesinum, an adjective rather than a noun, is derived from the Arab Kirmiz, a dyestuff obtained from *Kermes ilicis*.

PAILE

A general term for costly fabrics was *paile*, *paille*, *palle*, Provençal *pali*, English *pelle*, German *pfelle*, still used in French *poêle*, English *pell*, derived from Low Latin *pallium*, but far more restricted.

Sometimes we find *paile d'Orient molt bon*, the eastern origin obviously enhanced the value of a gift. *Paile d'outremer*, *drap de Sire* or *Surie*, *drap pers* are synonyms for Levantine fabrics. In the Canterbury Tales the Doctor of Physic

"In sanguin and in *perse* he clade was alle

Lined with taffata, and with sendalle" (Prologue, v. 441)

the Summoner also

"A long surcote of *perse* upon he hade" (*ibid.*, v. 649),

and the Serjeant-at-Law tells of the rich Syrian merchants who send their wares to the English markets (v. 4554).

Francisque-Michel gives an alphabetic list of pailles accompanied by the place of production or provenance, lavishly backed by delightful verses quoted from many romances. He begins with the *pali african vermeil polpri* of Gérard de Roussillon, continues with *paille alixandrin* with an excursus on the importance of Alexandria as trading center in the later middle ages, jumps across the Strait of Gibraltar to *Almeria*, center of the Levantine trade on the south coast of Spain. The fame of the finely woven *pailles d'Aumarie* was proverbial, samit, cendal, siglaton were manufactured from silk grown in the Kingdom of Granada, several Arab authors (Al-Makārri, Ibn al-Khaṭīb) speak glowingly of the beauty and excellent quality of the fabrics, woven on eight hundred looms in Almeria alone.

The culture of the silk worm, probably brought to Spain by Ommayyad refugees, was not confined to the Kingdom of Granada, but was spread as far as Zaragoza; El Conde don Frances de Zuñiga, court-jester of Charles V, had an annual income of 20,000 maravedi from his silk worms in the mountains of Alpujarra. Idrīsī tells of silkworm culture in more than three thousand villages in the province of Jaen, and of the six thousand looms for silk fabrics in Sevilla. In the 12th and 13th centuries the silks of Murcia were ranked as most precious together with those of Almeria.

From the westernmost Mediterranean we return to the Levant, to find *paile of Antioch molt chier* in the 12th century romance of Perceval. In the 13th and 14th centuries we find such fabrics mentioned time and again in inventories. St. Paul's in London had a black chasuble worked entirely with golden ornaments, Canterbury cathedral vestments of red, blue, and white *Antioche* with birds, embroidered or brocaded, and diasper patterns.

Then there are the *pailles de Biterne*, or *Bisterne*, imaginary country at the end of the world, *finibus terrae*, never found in inventories, merely in romances where probably fabrics from Central Asia or the Far East are thus denoted.

Fabrics from Central Asia were also called *drap de Tharse*, *panno Tarsico*, *pannus Tarsenus*, more often *pannus Tartaricus*, *tartariscus*, *tartarinus*, French *tartaire*, *tartre*. The chronicle of Saint-Denis tells how the Magi Kings journeyed to Bethlehem from the kingdom of Tharsa, a kingdom in Turkestan, near Cathay, according to Haythou, king of Little Armenia who in 1254 started on the "very long road beyond the Caspian Sea" to the residence of Mangū Khān at Karakorum, and according to Marino Sanuto of Torcello who must have received his information from his friend Bernardi de Furvo, a Venetian nobleman who had travelled in Mongol lands. From specifications in inventories *panni tartarici* belonged to the category of cloths of gold, in a wide range of colours, and were not easily distinguished from diasper and samit. Quite possibly the Venetian merchants profited of the sensation caused by the publication of Marco Polo's account of his almost fabulous adventures, in the early 14th century, to give the name *tartar* to both new and old fabrics.

Mostly *panni tartarici* were striped, often with bands of gold—very magnificently if the fabric found in the tomb of Cangrande della Scala is a typical example (Giorgio Sangiorgi: "Le stoffe e le vesti tombali di Cangrande della Scala," *Bolletino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, 1922. Excellent colorplate).

We should be embarrassed if asked to indicate the exact location of Biterne, but Damascus is, certainly, quite tangible both as a manufacturing and trading center. Idrīsī describes at length the "very costly brocades of incomparable perfection of craftsmanship which are exported in large numbers to countries near and far." *Drap d'or fait à Damas, pale de soie de Damasque* appear in inventories and romances, the term *damas*, *damaschino* can be traced to the 12th century, but it is uncertain whether it is used as a place name or as a type of weave, the "reversible patterned fabric in which areas of satin adjoin areas of simple weave on the face and on the back in exchanged positions" (Nancy Andrews Reath, *The Weaves of Hand-Loom Fabrics*; Philadelphia, 1927, p. 11).

Great was the variety, wide the colour range of these fine fabrics which are mentioned constantly in inventories. Black damask seems to have been fairly common, pure white rather rare. We find many shades of red, blue, purple, yellow, grey, green, while combinations of two colours, such as blue and white, green and purple, seem to point to two-coloured damask, or lampas in modern classification. Most highly prized were damasks brocaded in gold or silver and "cloth of gold of *Domasque*."

Fabrics from the Kingdom of Mosul are well known from Marco Polo's descriptions. *Mosolin*, *mosulin*, *mustin*, *mezelli* were the trade-names for a diversity of silk fabrics, often patterned in gold. Equally famous were fine cotton fabrics, the Arabian Nights have *maucili* for muslin, and the Chinese traveller Ch'ang Ch'un, 1221, says that the Samarqand men use a piece of white *mo-sge*, obviously muslin, to wrap around their heads in hot weather.

Another cotton fabric, ranged among the high priced fabrics, was *buckram*, *bougran*, *bouquerant*, *boquerannus*, *buchiranum*, name derived originally from Bokhārā; later French authors seem to connect *bougran* with the home of the *Bougres*, Bulgaria, country better known to them than far away Bokhārā. Marco Polo mentions Arzinga in Greater Armenia as the place where "they weave the best buckrams in the world," and the Kingdom of Melibar for "the most subtle and most beautiful buckrams."

That buckram was esteemed as highly as the most costly silk fabrics becomes obvious when we read how the relic of the arm of St. George was shown to the Crusaders wrapped in "chier *boguerant*," and the narrative of Saint-Louis' interview with the envoys of the dread Old Man of the Mountain. One of the envoys had a piece of buckram wrapped round his arm and would have presented it to the King as a burial shroud, should he have refused the *Shaikh* al-Djabal's requests.

A hundred years later buckram is no longer mentioned among the costly fabrics, but as a material used for underwear. As such it cannot have been the coarse, stiff fabric which today is called buckram.

Clearly of Chinese origin is the fabric called *zatouin*, *zatouy*, *zetani*, *zatuni*, name derived from *Zaitun* (Tsuen-tshou-fu, Province Fokien), mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa about 1350 as a great center of weaving. There is little doubt, although no definitive proof, that *zaituniya* is none other than *satīn*, type of weave best adapted for displaying the sheen of silk.

All these fabrics brought in trade from the East to the West, caused such admiration that often troubadours and trouvères give us to understand that they were woven by fairies, the *dames blanches*. Dwarfs also sometimes wove or embroidered fine fabrics, although for the most part they were busy forging strong arms endowed with supernatural powers of protection and resistance.

THE MUDEJAR STYLE IN MEXICAN ARCHITECTURE*

BY DIEGO ANGULO

ONE OF THE PROBLEMS OF INTEREST IN THE STUDY OF AN ARTISTIC SCHOOL IS THAT OF THE origin of the elements composing it, particularly when one is treating chapters of the History of Art as imperfectly known as that on Hispanic-American architecture.

The elements of which that art should logically be composed are the Spanish and the indigenous. Nevertheless, although there exist buildings in which the influence of indigenous artistic forms can be seen in an indubitable manner, they are relatively so limited in number and are apt to relate to such secondary aspects that one cannot help being surprised by the superficiality and the sporadic nature of that influence. Whoever has seen in Spain the birth of Mudejar art in the union of the Arab and Christian civilizations, can of necessity only be surprised, as much by the incapacity, or the unwillingness, of the Spanish and the Hispanic-American architects to assimilate the beauties of Aztec and Inca forms, as by the lack of spiritual force of the element dominated in imposing its forms of art. The singularity of the phenomenon is augmented if one bears in mind the fact that the Spanish minority in America was always more of a minority than that of the Christians in the lands conquered from the Arabs.

In addition to those elements, which ought to be of primordial importance in the creation of an Hispanic-American colonial art, there exist others of a more secondary character; one of these, which came to America as a part of the art of the *conquistadores*, is the Mudejar style, the study of which is now permitted me by the nature of this publication. But inasmuch as following the traces of this art through all of Spanish America would lengthen excessively these lines, I shall limit myself to determining with precision the small amount of Arabism which exists in Mexican architecture.

As is the case in the Peninsula, in America the most brilliant manifestation of the Mudejar style is constituted by the sumptuous wooden ceilings with elaborate decoration of *lazos*, or interlacing star-shaped polygons. However it is curious that while a considerable number of examples are preserved in South America (Colombia: Bogotá, Tunja, Pasto; Ecuador: Quito; Perú: Ayacucho),¹ the ones that exist in the ancient New Spain are very rare. It is certain that churches which we see covered by vaults had originally their carved wooden ceilings, but the truth is that today few such ceilings are known. The most famous of all is that of San Francisco in Tlaxcala,² which appears less ancient than is supposed, and that of San Diego at Huejotzingo³ has been published recently. One can cite in addition that of the cloister at Tzintzuntzan, that at Tulancingo, of so late a date that its stars conserve

* Translated from the Spanish by Helen B. Hall.

¹Bernal, "Arte arquitectónico español en el Nuevo Reino de Granada," *Raza Española*, 1924, p. 74; Navarro, *Historia del Arte en el Ecuador*, 12, p. 148; Noel,

Arquitectura virreinal, p. 165.

²Toussaint, *Iglesias de México*, VI, figs. 3 and 4.

³García Granados and MacGregor, *Huejotzingo*, p. 292.

scarcely any of the geometric severity of the decoration of *lazos*, and above all the compartments of the tribunes of the church of La Profesa in Mexico City (*Fig. 1*). These panels, in spite of the care with which they have been disposed, show clearly that they were not made for that place, but that they probably were taken over from the ancient church.⁴ Although it presents no decoration of *lazos*, one can mention here also the roof of the small church at Tlanalapa, whose brackets offer, though somewhat disfigured, the characteristic rolls with the central band found on corbels of the period of the Caliphate.

If the large Mexican conventual churches of the XVI century preserve scarcely at all the brilliant note of the *artesonados* so frequent in their kindred churches in the Peninsula, instead the Mudejar style of Almoravide and Almohade ancestry reigns in the pinnacles of the walls of not a few of them. I make reference to the two parallel bands that crown churches such as at Huejotzingo,⁵ Atlixco, Tepeaca, Tepeji del Rio, or Tlahuac. That old formula had been adopted by Sevillian Mudejar architecture and from there must have passed to the Anahuac table-land.

After seeing decorative elements like the former one cross the Atlantic, the employ of the *alfiz* in Mexican churches of the XVI century ought not to cause wonder. By way of example those of the above-mentioned convent of Huejotzingo can be recalled, and I shall note that in Puebla and in Campeche the same kinds are used in patios and on interior doors as in any city of Andalusia.⁶ With regard to the arches themselves⁷ one can point out, among the delirious fancies to which Mexican architects of the XVIII century abandoned themselves, some like those of Zimapán, which would be said to be direct products of the Almoravides and the Almohades if it were not for their lack of height. In certain mixtilinear arches one sees delineated the first convex lobes so characteristic of this period of Hispano-Arabic architecture, but I believe that it is a question rather of coincidence than of imitation of the old Andalusian models.

The great mosque at Cordova left at least two curious traces in Mexican architecture. One of these, noticed some time ago, is the famous Royal Chapel in Cholula (*Fig. 2*) which with its square plan and its numerous pillars and columns evokes from the first moment the memory of the beautiful building constructed by the Arabs on the bank of the Guadalquivir. Although no building in Mexico can be compared with it, it is known that it was not the only monument⁸ of that type which the *conquistadores* erected in the XVI century.

The other manifestation of the influence of the celebrated mosque can be pointed out

⁴ The *artesonados* of the destroyed church of La Merced in Mexico City (1634-1654) can be seen in Toussaint, *Iglesias y conventos de la ciudad de México*, p. 62.

⁵ García Granados and MacGregor, *op. cit.*

⁶ Puebla: Patio de la Concordia and houses at 214 calle de Vargas and at 403 and 405 calle Alguacil mayor; Campeche: San Juan de Dios, San José.

⁷ I do not know if the polychromy of the *voussoirs*

of the arch of San Francisco Acuahutla is entirely original, since if it were it would seem just to think of the earlier one of the mosque at Cordova. MacGregor, "Cien ejemplares de plateresco mexicano," *Archivo Esp. de Arte*, 1935, p. 40, Pl. 5.

⁸ Toussaint, *Iglesias de México*, VI, p. 22; G. Granados, "Capillas de indios," *Archivo Esp. de Arte*, 1935, p. 16.



FIG. 1—MEXICO CITY, TRIBUNE OF THE CHURCH OF LA PROFESA



FIG. 2—CHOLULA, INTERIOR OF THE ROYAL CHAPEL

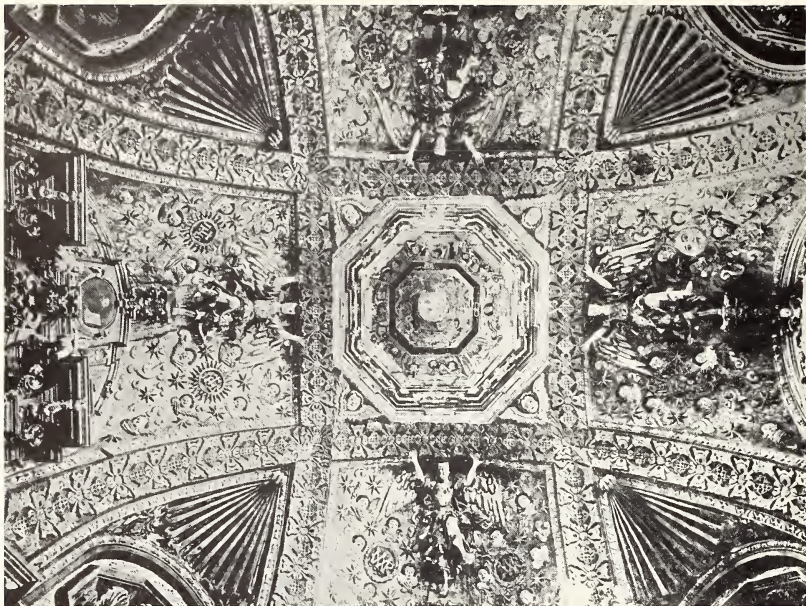


FIG. 3—TEPOTZOTLÁN, RIBBED VAULT IN THE CHURCH OF SAN MARTÍN



FIG. 4—SAN MIGUEL ALLENDE, RIBBED VAULT IN THE CHURCH OF SAN FELIPE

in San Martín of Tepotzotlán (*Fig. 3*) and in the city of San Miguel Allende (*Fig. 4*). In both cases the subject in question is the *camarín*, that is, a room where the vestments of the image of the Virgin are kept and where the image is dressed, of a chapel dedicated to the Virgin of Loreto. The chapel, rectangular in shape, contains a copy of the house which was miraculously transported from the Holy Land to the shores of the Adriatic, and communicates at the farther end with a large *camarín* of octagonal plan, covered by a ribbed vault of Hispano-Arabic type. The vault is formed by four arches which, instead of intersecting at the center, leave between them an open space, a space which here is square instead of being octagonal as is the case in the mosque at Cordova,⁹ and which serves as a base for the lantern. In the chapel of Loreto in Tepotzotlán, which is well-known¹⁰ and which has been published on various occasions, reference is made to the dates of 1734 and 1761. The *camarín* of San Miguel, judging by the inscription which exists in it, was founded in 1735.¹¹

Although this type of ribbed vault derives from the beautiful examples in the mosque at Cordova, the fact ought not to be concealed that the celebrated Italian architect Guarino Guarini (d. 1683)¹² employed ribbed vaults of the Islamic type and that his works circulated in Spain.¹³

The XVIII century in Mexico offers us another curious manifestation of Mudejar art in the decoration of *lacierías*, or interlacing patterns, which became the mode like a distant, faint echo of the medieval Aragonese Moorish period. Decorations of *lacierías* are not lacking in the baroque architecture of the Peninsula,¹⁴ but the Mexican monuments cannot be mistaken. Among the churches can be cited the band of the exterior walls of the above-mentioned church of San Martín at Tepotzotlán (1760)¹⁵ and the wall-surfaces of San Lázaro in Mexico City (1721-1728). With regard to private houses¹⁶ I shall record that of the calle del Ecuador, which ought not to be much earlier than the middle of the century, if as is supposed the decoration of *lazo* is not older than the pilasters in the form of a

⁹ In the mosque of El Cristo de la Luz in Toledo there exist vaults with a square central space, although without a lantern.

¹⁰ *Tres siglos de arquitectura colonial*, p. 117; Diez Barroso, *El Arte en Nueva España*, fig. 26; Romero de Terreros, *Arte Colonial*, II, p. 105; Valle, *Tepotzotlán*, p. 69. I do not wish to conceal the information that the measurements of the Casa at Loreto were taken to Mexico by the Italian Jesuit J. B. Zappa who went there from Lombardy. Zappa was also in Tepotzotlán, where a Chapel of Loreto was inaugurated in 1679, whose relation to the present one, if there is a relation, is still to be studied. The presence of the Italian priest might be interesting for the problem of the vault, because Guarini was in the capital of Lombardy at the time of his death in 1683. (Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, III, p. 22; Marroquí, *La Ciudad de México*, III, p. 112).

¹¹ I was assured during my visit to the church that

a priest who was buried in the church of San Nicolás in Cordova (Spain), his native land, was in charge of the erection of the chapel.

¹² Article by Bricarelli in Thieme, *Künstlerlexikon*, 1922.

¹³ The buttresses of the church of San Gabriel in California have been considered reminiscent of the exterior of the mosque at Cordova, citing as proof the fact that the founder of the church, Fray Antonio Cruzado, was a native of the village of Alcazarejos in the province of Cordova (Newcomb, *The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California*, p. 181).

¹⁴ Iñiguez, "Sobre algunas bóvedas aragonesas con lazo," *Archivo Esp. de Arte*, 1932, p. 37.

¹⁵ Cortés, *La arquitectura en México*, Pls. 107, 122, 124, and 125; Diez Barroso, *op. cit.*, fig. 239.

¹⁶ *Tres siglos de arquitectura colonial*, pp. 52 and 54.

reversed pyramid of its portal, and the house at the corner of the calle de Escalerilla and the calle de Reloj. Decoration of curving *lazos* in painting can be mentioned in the vault of the XVI century chapel of the Indians at Atlatlahuca,¹⁷ and *intarsia* decoration in the choir-stalls of the cathedral at Puebla (1691).¹⁸

¹⁷ Garcia Granados, "Capillas de indios," *op. cit.*, Pl. XII.

¹⁸ *Tres siglos de arquitectura colonial*, p. 78; Diez Barroso, *op. cit.*, fig. 252.

THE LACK OF DATED OBJECTS OF THE SELDĠÜK PERIOD MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE TO THROW further light upon the epoch by the publication of another undated piece, unless it is of unusual aspect. Illustrated in the accompanying Figure 1 is a unique bronze,¹ the unknown date of which is perhaps less conjectural than the purpose. Comparisons of the inlaid designs with those of other bronzes, as well as with the decorations found on SeldĠük architecture, all seem to point to a twelfth century origin, though the eleventh century is by no means out of the question. In any case, the strength of the curves, the liveliness of the foliate designs, the correctness of the proportions, and the general appearance of substantiality and adequacy are all elements that have come to be associated with the productions of the SeldĠüks.

Before entering into the problem of use, it may be well to give a brief description of the object and its means of assembly. There are four separate "legs," originally nearly identical, each with a paw at one end and a tiger's head at the other. The flat central section of each leg has a wide, diagonal channel on one side, so that two legs fit together in a single plane. A vertical groove in the upper part of one pair and in the lower part of the other permits the four legs to join and lock in an upright position. A glance at Figure 1 will show that two of the legs have been welded together, since one of them, which was broken, would not otherwise have remained standing.²

Figure 2 gives a close-up of one of the heads, showing a hole that runs through the mouth from side to side, and another that enters through the teeth and terminates in the middle of the first one.

Usually a Persian bronze can be identified as a dish, a candlestick, a box, or some other of the known objects; but so far as I am aware, there is nothing even vaguely analogous to the piece under discussion. Certainly it is not merely decorative, for then it would be considerably less sturdy and somewhat more ornate. By the same token it seems obvious that it must have borne a weight of some kind. The design, moreover, is not complete, but requires something to carry it upward.

Whatever the article that rested on the stand, its base could not have been greater in diameter than the longest distance between two of the tigers' "collars"; for it seems reasonable to assume that these protuberances were meant as guards, rather than as rests. Nor could it have been a small box, such as immediately suggests itself, because so strong a stand would have been unnecessary for its support. If it had been a dish with small base and wide, outward-curving lip, the tigers' heads would have been obscured. Thus, the conclusion is reached that it must have been an object of some height and, probably, of some weight.

¹ The Cleveland Museum of Art. Accessions number 31.453. Height: 14 cm.; width: 16.5 cm.

² There is no other restoration.

The next point to be noticed is that whereas, for the most part, the inlay reaches close to the edges of the object, there is a considerable space at the intersection that is devoid of decoration. If this space were covered with some sort of binding to hold the legs in place during carriage, it would help to explain the curve in the supporting part of the stand: for a flat-bottomed vessel would in this wise be supported by the four points nearest the collars, instead of rocking on the projection presented by the binding. On the other hand, such a makeshift appliance would seem out of place on so simple an object.

The only conclusion remaining is that whatever rested on the stand was secured by a vertical member projecting downward, and slotted in such a way as to fit over the intersection. Such a projection, in order to have fallen into place, would have had to be square in section and bisected from corner to corner. The four parts thus segregated would have been inlaid so as to take care of the undecorated surface referred to above.

An examination of the bronze promotes the supposition that something (probably a U-shaped fastener) fitted over each "neck" behind the collar. If this was the case, it can be assumed that the missing object was seldom removed from the stand, as the process would have been too complicated.

For the holes in the mouth I have no explanation. It seems unlikely, in a piece such as this, that they could have been for purely decorative appendages, and yet I am unable to conjure up any other explanation that seems at all credible. It is, of course, possible that chains passed through the horizontal holes and fastened onto the object above; but, if so, what was the purpose of the diagonal holes, entering through the teeth?

Regardless of the ultimate conclusion, the bronze proves once again the significance of the Seldjūk period in the history of Persian art. The extreme simplicity of the modelling, the vitality of the designs, and the structural appearance of the stand as a whole—such qualities are rarely found.



FIG. 1—SELDJÛK BRONZE STAND, XII CENTURY, CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART



FIG. 2—DETAIL OF THE STAND

IN MEMORIAM

SAMUEL FLURY

20 Avril 1874—24 Janvier 1935

Le 24 janvier 1935 la mort a emporté le regretté Samuel Flury juste au moment où il espérait de rétablir définitivement sa santé à Arosa après une longue maladie de sang.

Son charme personnel attirait irrésistiblement vers lui ceux qui avaient le bonheur de jouir de contact immédiat; ceux qui ne le connaissaient que de loin y succombaient à force de correspondance. Très sociable, toujours bienveillant, modeste et sans prétention, il discutait dans ses lettres les questions scientifiques qui l'absorbaient, informait de ses travaux, sans exclure les événements de sa vie privée. Ce sont des documents biographiques très précieux, dont nous jouissons ici: on ne saurait comprendre, sans connaître un peu sa biographie, comment il est parvenu à occuper cette place d'honneur qu'il tenait à bon droit parmi les investigateurs de l'art musulman.

Samuel Flury naquit à St. Isabella au Brésil le 20 avril 1874. Il perdit son père, pasteur allemand, à l'âge de quatre ans. Sa mère, qu'il aimait beaucoup, douée d'un caractère peu ordinaire, rentra en Europe et resta chez ses parents en Württemberg. Ici s'écoula l'enfance de S. Flury en compagnie d'un frère et de deux sœurs. À huit ans il entra au gymnase de Bâle. Après l'éducation secondaire il étudia cinq ans la théologie à Bâle et à Berlin, mais la pensée de devoir prôner, comme il disait, lui était insupportable et il préféra d'enseigner dans une école de la Suisse française. Il y étudia le français tout en donnant des leçons de musique et d'allemand (14.VI.1933). Une invitation en 1899 l'amena au Caire, où il passa trois ans en qualité de maître d'école et suffragant de la colonie allemand.

L'Égypte a fortement impressionné S. Flury; toute sa vie postérieure gardait les traces de cette période. Sa nature artistique a été envahie par l'art musulman. Il étudiait attentivement les musées, les monuments d'architecture et dessinait les ornements avec ferveur. Dans sa lettre du 6.V.1933 il dit, "Étant à moitié artiste la surface des choses m'intéresse beaucoup. C'est le côté artistique qui m'a attiré aux études d'art et d'archéologie musulmans."

Malgré la proposition de prolonger le séjour en Égypte pour écrire un travail sur les mosquées du Caire, le manque de confiance en ses forces l'empêcha d'y consentir. Il rentre en Europe en 1902, étudie la philologie moderne en Suisse, passe ensuite trois ans en Angleterre, où il domine l'anglais en perfection. En 1907 il entre comme maître de l'anglais au lycée de Bâle (Obere Realschule) et ne le quitte pas jusqu'à la fin de ses jours. La profession pédagogique remplit la majeure partie de sa vie; il a su bien influencer ses élèves, mais un autre côté de son activité a encore plus d'importance.

Bientôt après son installation à Bâle une grande crise intérieure se passe en lui. Son ami Max van Berchem insistait toujours qu'il continue ses études d'art et d'archéologie arabes. Ne jouissant que des vacances et des heures de loisir S. Flury se transforme d'amateur en un

savant et reste fidèle à la branche choisie de la science durant la vie entière: "L'écriture coufique m'intéresse en premier lieu et la paléographie des inscriptions coufiques est le domaine dans lequel je travaille de préférence" (16.I.1926)—"je m'occupe uniquement de l'histoire d'art musulman et de la paléographie" (1.IX.1932). Il a trouvé sa véritable vocation et ne devint un homme heureux que depuis qu'il a commencé à s'occuper de l'art arabe. Là il sentait que c'était son domaine et il perdit toutes les idées d'infériorité qui le poursuivaient dans la première moitié de sa vie (14.VI.1933).

S. Flury s'abstenait intentionnellement d'étudier l'épigraphie, soutenu par Max van Berchem qui lui conseillait de ne pas perdre son temps avec la philologie arabe et disait: "Vous trouverez toujours des savants pour traduire des textes historiques" (1.IX.1932). Il s'adonnait à l'étude avec entrain: "Ce qui me fait le plus grand plaisir c'est de dessiner le petit détail significatif sachant que ces petites choses garderont toujours leur valeur. Les opinions sur l'art changent, mais les matériaux sur lesquels l'opinion est basée survivent."

La publication en 1912 de l'ouvrage *Die Ornamente der Hakim-und Azhar-Moschee* a montré toute l'originalité de son talent; il a trouvé le vrai chemin de comprendre et d'interpréter l'art fatimide. Il y a mis une quantité de temps, profita de ses dessins du premier séjour en Égypte et des photographies qui ont exigé un voyage spécial au Caire en 1911. Après l'apparition de l'édition, l'étude de ces deux mosquées ne cessa point; il y revenait assidûment dans les dernières années de sa vie et entreprit en 1927 encore un voyage en Égypte pour voir les stucs d'al-Azhār après la restauration de la mosquée, où il trouva bien de détails nouveaux: "Jetzt kann man sich erst ein genaues Bild von der früh-fatimidischen Kunst machen. In der Hakim-Moschee habe ich alle Stuckinschriften genau untersucht und manches Neue gefunden" (23.IX.1927; 9.IV.1934).

Les vacances des années suivantes ont été employées à l'étude des matériaux acquis de la littérature moderne nécessaire et à faire les nouveaux dessins; il en parle en hiver, le 24.I.1930: "Je continue à faire la nouvelle analyse des mosquées d'el-Azhar et d'el-Hakim pour la grande publication de K. A. C. Creswell"; il y revient dans ses lettres du 13.VIII.1934. et 24.X.1934. Vers la fin de l'été 1934 il commença d'écrire la nouvelle analyse de la mosquée d'al-Azhār qui resta, à ce qu'il paraît, inachevée.

La décoration ornementale des monuments fātimides, les questions d'évolution du coufique monumental menaient S. Flury vers d'autres monuments musulmans d'Égypte, de Mésopotamie et de la Perse. L'élargissement du cercle d'observation n'abaissait point la profondeur de l'étude; plus il se tournait vers l'orient plus son argumentation du développement antérieur et progressif du coufique aux confins orientaux du monde musulman médiéval gagnait en profondeur. Il trouva à Ghazna le plus ancien naskhī monumental et il établit les plus intéressants types du coufique monumental—coufique tressé (Tirmidh, Amida) et coufique à rinceau ondulé (Ghazna).

L'intérêt exclusif de ces rares matériaux, l'analyse pénétrante qui les accompagne, des-
sins détaillés, planches alphabétiques en font des études modèles. Cette méthode permit à S. Flury d'attribuer avec plus de sécurité les monuments non datés à une époque précise,

d'établir les rapports entre l'ornement fâtimide, 'abbasside et de la Perse orientale, de saisir le rôle de deux centres importants dans l'art musulman. S. Flury a créé une branche nouvelle de la paléographie, finement dénommée par le feu Gaston Migeon "la paléographie ornementale"; il l'a élevée à la hauteur qui dépasse tout ce qui a été fait jusqu'ici dans ce domaine. Du terrain inculte des frises arabes monumentales la belle période d'épanouissement de l'écriture coufique au XI^e siècle est éclaircie surtout par ses soins.

La haute valeur et l'importance des travaux de S. Flury est considérée unanimement; sans lui le chapitre sur la sculpture décorative dans la deuxième édition du *Manuel d'art musulman* par G. Migeon serait de beaucoup plus maigre. Ce succès ne l'a nullement changé, il resta simple et modeste.

On a vainement essayé d'attirer S. Flury à l'Université de Bâle, en lui proposant la charge de professeur extraordinaire, la peur de chaque contrainte l'amena au refus: "J'ai tout de suite senti le danger. Je serais devenu l'esclave de la science sans aucune liberté personnelle . . ." (14.VI.1933). À force de concentrer l'énergie et l'attention il obtint des résultats surprenants, quoique certaines conditions de son entourage n'étaient pas tout à fait favorables à l'étude. Le manque de musée à Bâle, comme en Suisse en général, où l'art musulman soit représenté, l'absence de bibliothèque orientale (14.VI.1933) se faisaient sentir: "La bibliographie orientale est très mal représentée dans nos bibliothèques" (15.XII.1933) — "Je regrette parfois de ne pas être attaché à un Musée qui achète tout dont j'ai besoin. En Suisse les Musées d'art oriental n'existent pas. Je me sens quelquefois assez isolé" (6.V.1933). Si de nombreux amis orientalistes n'envoyaient à S. Flury leurs ouvrages, il lui serait presque impossible de travailler. Aussi devait-il parfois aller à Paris, à Londres ou à Berlin voir la littérature nécessaire.

L'activité pédagogique très intense ne laissait pas beaucoup de temps au travail scientifique; il fallait en faire usage avec précaution. S. Flury réussissait de mettre en harmonie ses dons et ses facultés diverses. Il aimait beaucoup la musique, se passait à peine d'un piano; de tous les musiciens il préférait Händel. Très mobile pour son âge, il faisait du sport à 59 ans; enfin il cultivait son grand jardin avec ardeur. Ses lettres reflètent cet enclin à merveille: "J'aime la vie simple étant le descendant de bergers grisons." Mes amis se moquent de moi quand je leur parle de mes ancêtres qui vivaient à la Montagne, ne mangeant que du pain, du fromage et du lait, ne connaissant la viande et le vin qu'aux grandes fêtes. . . . L'héritage que ces ancêtres m'ont laissé est le goût pour les simples plaisirs de l'homme primitif . . ." (1.IX.1932) — "Je travaille comme mes ancêtres paysans dans le canton des Grisons" (9.IV.1934).

Ce jardin lui prenait beaucoup de temps, mais il ne s'en plaignait point et lui consacrait entièrement les trois semaines des vacances du printemps, les vacances d'automne en partie. On sent une grande satisfaction dans ses paroles: "J'ai travaillé comme un nègre avec la différence que j'y ai mis de l'enthousiasme. . . Il faut avoir un contrepoids pour contrebalancer le spécialisme moderne qui occupe uniquement la tête" (6.V.1933). Le dur travail physique obligeait S. Flury de renoncer complètement aux recherches scientifiques, tandis que le reste

des vacances d'automne, les vacances d'hiver et en été il payait large tribut à l'Orient, dessinant parfois jour et nuit: "J'ai toujours consacré mes vacances à l'Orient" (14.VI.1933). — "I could not go away this summer because the summer holidays are the only time in which I can work properly" (25.VIII.1930). — "Pendant ces vacances de printemps je ne peux rien faire pour l'Orient . . ." (9.IV.1934). — "Pendant les vacances de Noël j'ai dessiné jour et nuit les détails les plus importants . . ." (15.I.1934). — "Pendant la dernière quinzaine j'ai fait trois dessins sur le décor épigraphique de la mosquée d'el-Azhar et commencé d'écrire un article. C'est dommage que je ne puisse continuer" (13.VIII.1934). — "Pendant les vacances d'automne j'ai travaillé à l'analyse du décor épigraphique de la mosquée d'el-Azhar" (24.X.1934). — "J'ai repris mon travail au lycée ce qui m'oblige de renoncer à l'orient" (26.I.1934).

Lorsque l'âge ne se faisait point sentir les soirées après le souper durant l'année scolaire offraient un peu de temps, mais dans les dernières années de sa vie les études nocturnes causaient à S. Flury l'insomnie et il a fallu d'y renoncer.

Toutes les occupations professionnelles, mentales et physiques n'épuisaient point l'énergie de S. Flury. Le travail scientifique l'entraînait de plus en plus, il lui paraissait plus facile que la vie mondaine. Des matériaux nouveaux affluaient de toute part; il savait les trouver lui-même aussi et de les montrer sous une nouvelle lumière. Quelques thèmes ne le quittaient point, comme l'ornement fâtimide et 'abbasside, il revenait à d'autres à plusieurs reprises (Bandeaux ornements, Nāyin). La céramique de l'Asie Centrale d'époque samanide, avec ses différents motifs épigraphiques occupait toujours sa pensée. Il l'étudiait à Londres et à Berlin, les pièces originales et les dessins, et il attendait avec impatience le jour du Congrès International d'Art Iranien et d'Archéologie à Leningrad où il espérait de voir la collection de l'Hermitage; après le Congrès de 1931 à Londres il répétait toujours cette question dans ses lettres (16.I.1933; 6.V.1933; 15.I.1934; 13.VIII.1934; 20.I.1935), mais ce vœu ardent n'a pu s'accomplir.

Parmi les travaux récents il faut citer surtout "Ornamental Epigraphy in Persia" qui doit paraître dans *Survey of Persian Art*; vers le 12.VI.1932 cet article a été déjà dactylographié. Il a coûté à l'auteur pas mal d'émotion. S. Flury préférait en général de publier ses travaux dans quelques revues orientales, plus accessibles qu'une monographie "Je suis par principe contre ces publications somptueuses que le pauvre savant ne peut pas acheter. Un article publié dans une grande revue et dont on peut avoir des tirages à part est bien plus pratique pour ceux qui travaillent sérieusement qu'un gros volume qui se trouve dans une grande bibliothèque" (9.IV.1934). Suivant cette opinion, ses articles ont paru pour la plupart sur les pages de *Syria*, *Der Islam* ou *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, peu d'entre eux ont été publiés séparément; il partageait généreusement parmi ses confrères et amis les tirages à part et les exemplaires d'auteur. C'était la cause du refus de prendre part à l'édition fondamentale du *Survey of Persian Art* (14.XII.1931; 9.V.1934). Enfin S. Flury a cédé aux instances de M. A. U. Pope et promit de donner son article. Lorsque les dessins étaient prêts, l'incendie les a anéanti, il a fallu les refaire: "C'était le travail le plus dur que j'ai jamais fait que de dessiner 24 figures une seconde fois" (9.IV.1934). On y croira facile-

ment, parceque les dessins de S. Flury, fins et élégants, quoique faits d'après des photographies qui laissaient parfois à désirer, se distinguent par l'extrême exactitude, gagnée au moyen d'étude détaillée à la loupe et au compas.

Vers la fin de l'an 1933 S. Flury obtint une photographie du mihrâb du Mashhad-i Miş-riyân, maintenant ruiné. La beauté de l'écriture et l'ornement sculpté l'ont complètement ravi (31.XII.1933). Peu de semaines après il en reçut deux autres. Toutes les trois lui vinrent des endroits différents, mais elles remontent à la même source primitive. Surchargé à excès, S. Flury commença le travail sans délai, sans penser d'abord au *Survey* (15.I.1934; 26.I.1934; 9.V.1934), mais en octobre 1934 il consentit d'y publier ses dessins (24.X.1934) que nous espérons de voir bientôt.

La grande surcharge détruisait invisiblement la santé de S. Flury. Malgré quelques attaques de maladies, il ne pensait nullement au repos. En été 1932 après 25 ans de travail ininterrompu, il passa trois semaines en Angleterre pour la première fois sans occupation visible, quoique six collections ont été étudiées, quelques questions d'art discutées. Plus le temps avançait, plus il goûtait la vie, plus il s'attachait à l'art, mais il se résignait doucement à l'irrésistible: "J'ai toujours l'impression qu'il vaut la peine de vivre après avoir joué du Händel . . ." (13.VIII.1934).— "Je suis tout à fait content si je peux jouir de mon existence encore quelques années . . . Il faut que nous travaillions . . . encore quelques années . . . La vie devient de plus en plus riche . . ." (24.X.1933).—"Souhaitez-moi que cette vie de travail dure encore quelques bonnes années" (9.IV.1934).—"J'espère que je verrai le jour de ma retraite en cinq ans. J'aurai tout mon temps occupé par les matériaux amassés dans les dernières années . . . La vie est riche" (13.VIII.1934).

En hiver 1934, à l'occasion de l'Exposition des tapis du XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle à Bâle, S. Flury étudia leur ornementation et les principes du décor; ensuite il conduisit les visiteurs à travers l'exposition. Il y prit très vite fort intérêt et ne put plus voir un tapis sans se rendre compte de son ensemble et de ses détails. Coufique coranique, peinture des poutres fatimides à Jérusalem, inscriptions d'une tour trouvée par M. Godard près de la mer Caspienne, stucs des fouilles à Bâlis—c'étaient encore les thèmes qui l'absorbaient pendant les dernières années et mois de sa vie, une vie pleine de labeur, sans compter la vie mondaine.

S'il arrivait à S. Flury de penser parfois à son âge avancé, s'était sans aucune amertume; il voyait même de très grandes compensations dans la vieillesse et gardait sa bonne humeur qu'il considérait à raison comme un don de la nature. La mélancolie ne le visitait que lorsqu'une maladie interrompait ses études ou bien à la pensée de la perte de ses amis, mais la seule perspective de revenir au travail servait de réconfort: "Laissons ces pensées tristes et soyons heureux que nous puissions encore voir le jour et travailler . . ." (10.III.1934). Malade, il restait paisible et bienveillant. Au mois de décembre 1933, à Arosa, privé de sport, il trouvait pendant ses promenades solitaires des endroits dangereux aux skieurs; là sur la neige ensoleillée, il écrivait en beau coufique du XI^e siècle العجلة من الشيطان.

"Ma vitalité étant basse pour le moment je ne fais pas de sport, je me promène seul comme un pauvre viellard"—"J'écris souvent des formules de bénédiction dans la neige à côté du chemin et après je continue ma promenade et je me sens plus gai" (15.XII.1933).

Les dernières heures de S. Flury s'écoulèrent à Arosa, où il se décida d'aller le 21 janvier 1935, dès qu'une amélioration de santé durant la dernière maladie semblait promettre une guérison. À la veille du départ, quatre jours avant sa mort, il parle sans soupçon apparent et avec l'entrain d'autrefois du travail prochain sur les stucs de Bâlis qui l'émerveillèrent en automne (24.X.1934): "Aussitôt que les leukocytes me le permettent je commencerai l'analyse" (20.I.1935). Rien ne montre dans cette dernière lettre qu'il pouvait pressentir la fin si proche, quoique elle est écrite au crayon. Les pensées de l'avenir l'occupaient, surtout la crainte de ne pas pouvoir aller au Congrès après avoir laisser passer tant de leçons au lycée. La mort cruelle interrompit doucement cette vie de travail prodigieux. S. Flury promettait encore beaucoup. Tous ses matériaux scientifiques sont légués sans partage par sa veuve, Mme. M. Flury Yucker, à l'Université de Bâle.

La science estime hautement les mérites du feu savant; elle profitera avec grande reconnaissance de son héritage; ses amis garderont pieusement sa chère mémoire.

VERA A. KRATCHKOVSKAYA

BOOK REVIEWS

Persian Miniature Painting. By Laurence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray. 212 pp., 113 pls. London, Oxford University Press, 1933.

All visitors to the Persian exhibition in London in 1931 will always remember the splendid display of Persian manuscripts and miniature paintings. Museums and private collectors helped to make this section one of the finest in the exhibition. Manuscripts hitherto unknown even to students were shown for the first time. The wealth of material assembled in London was of great importance to every research scholar in the field of Islamic painting. Many problems which baffled students were more or less clarified or presented in a different light. Binyon and Wilkinson, who jointly with Mr. Beatty were responsible for the selection of the material, rendered a great service to every lover and student of Oriental art for publishing this admirable volume on *Persian Miniature Painting*, including a critical and descriptive catalogue of miniatures exhibited at Burlington House. The book, beginning with an Introduction, is divided into six sections:

- I. Persian miniature painting before the Mongol invasions; the Mesopotamian style.
- II. The early Persian style and XIV century changes.
- III. The Tīmūrid school.
- IV. The later XV century: Bihzād and his contemporaries.
- V. The early Ṣafawī period.
- VI. The painting under Shāh 'Abbās and his successors.

The illustrations are placed at the end of each chapter which consists of a general discussion of the period and a detailed catalogue.

In the Introduction, which was apparently written by Binyon, a first attempt is made to explain the artistic principles and the background of Persian miniature painting. The understanding of these principles will help greatly in the development of an appreciation of Persian painting as one of the most fascinating branches of Oriental art. The great popularity of the exhibition of Islamic miniature and book illumination held in the Metropolitan Museum from October 9, 1933, through January 7, 1934, proves that this appreciation of Islamic painting is growing in America.

The six chapters give the reader a splendid survey of Persian painting from the time before the Mongol invasion to the period of Shāh 'Abbās. The first chapter on the Mesopotamian style is somewhat confusing to the reader. The authors, discussing the origin of the Mesopotamian style, illustrate it by several Arabic manuscripts of the XIII and XIV centuries, with the addition of some XV century examples which seem to be out of place in this chapter. Neither the miniatures in Kazwīnī's *Marvels of Creation*, in the collection of Mrs. Sarre, nor those in the other copy belonging to the Asiatic Museum at Leningrad show any trace of Mesopotamian tradition. Their style is typically Tīmūrid. The same can be said of the miniature paintings in the manuscript of *Kitāb al-Bulhān*, an astrological work in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. One misses in this chapter the discussion of the Seldjūq style of painting known to us from the pottery with painted overglaze decoration, called Rhages or Rayy ware, and from fragments of fresco paintings, of the end of the XII and the beginning of the XIII century. In the evolution of the Persian style of painting, the decoration of this Rhages ware, depicting scenes from court life and hunting scenes, is of

great importance. Such Rhages pieces as the bowl with the story of Bahram Gūr in the Schiff collection in New York are masterpieces which cannot be ignored by students of Persian painting. Although related to the Mesopotamian school, the paintings of the Rhages ware show stylistic differences which indicate a development based on Iranian and Central Asiatic traditions. The figures in the manuscripts of Ḥarīrī's *Makāmāt* and the *Materia Medica* of 1222 are distinctly Semitic, revealing a more or less realistic treatment of faces. The figures depicted on Rhages pottery are of Turkish type, while the technique of painting is far more schematic than in the Mesopotamian school. This Central Asiatic background of Rhages painting is strongly evident in the few frescoes which are either in museums or in the hands of dealers.

The second chapter is devoted to the Mongol school of Persian painting, which was represented in the exhibition by such an array of masterpieces as the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* of the Royal Asiatic Society and Edinburgh University, dated 1306-14, twenty-two paintings from the so-called Demotte *Shāh-Nāme*, and twenty miniatures from a small *Shāh-Nāme* lent by Chester Beatty. The Mongol school is no doubt one of the most interesting periods in the history of Islamic painting. The vigor and monumentality of some of the paintings has hardly been surpassed in later periods. The earliest manuscript of the Mongol period, not shown in London but included in the exhibition of the Metropolitan Museum of 1933-34, is the *Manāfi' al-Hayawān* which, according to earlier readings of the inscriptions, was completed in A.H. 695 (A.D. 1295) for Ghāzān Khān of the Il-Khān dynasty. Aga-Oglu, who has recently examined the inscriptions, believes that the date reads A.H. 690 (A.D. 1291) and that the manuscript was written in Marāgha, which was beside Tabriz an important art center of the XIV century ("A Note on

the Manuscript of *Manāfi' al-Hayawān* in the Library of Mr. J. P. Morgan," *Parnassus*, April, 1933, pp. 19-20). In Marāgha were written several of the XIV century *Qurāns* with magnificent illuminations, such as the one in the collection of Chester Beatty dated 1338. The illustrations of the Morgan *Manāfi'* show several hands. Most of them are in the style of Chinese ink paintings of the Sung and Yüan dynasties. This Chinese influence is the predominant factor in the XIV century paintings of large size, and this is best exemplified by the illustrations of the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* in London and Istanbul (M. Aga-Oglu, "Preliminary Notes on Some Persian Illustrated MSS. in the Topkapu Sarayı Müzesi," *Ars Islamica*, Vol. I, pp. 183-199, figs. 1-3). According to the authors, the paintings of the Demotte *Shāh-Nāme* show the Chinese influence better assimilated than those of the *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (p. 37). Viewing some of the paintings of the Demotte *Shāh-Nāme* (see pls. XXIV, XXV-XXVII), one gets a different impression. We are able to recognize two different styles: the landscape is always painted in Chinese style, while the figures, the architecture, the ornament and the polychromy in Persian style. This dualism of styles is a characteristic feature of many Demotte paintings, and it is not improbable that two artists painted each miniature.

Discussing the chronology of the XIV century *Shāh-Nāme* manuscripts, the authors believe that the miniatures in the Chester Beatty collection, together with the *Ṭabarī* of Kevorkian and the Vienna *Galen*, are the oldest, of about 1300. It is true that they preserve early features, particularly Kevorkian's *Ṭabarī* and the Schulz *Shāh-Nāme* (now in a private collection in New York), but so do some other miniature paintings from a later dated XIV century manuscript. I am referring to miniature paintings of the manuscript of *Munīs al-Ahrār*, an anthology of Persian poetry dated Ramaḍān 741 (Febru-

ary, 1431), now in several American museums and private collections in America, none of which was shown in the exhibition or mentioned in this work. The pages are decorated on both sides with three bands containing human beings personifying constellations and signs of the Zodiac, birds, animals and magic objects on a red background. The style of the miniatures in this manuscript and the Schulz *Shāh-Nāme* is even more archaic than those in the Beatty *Shāh-Nāme*. The style of these miniatures, which is doubtless earlier than the mixed Persian and Chinese style, is based on the Seldjūq tradition known to us from the polychrome Rhages were mentioned above.

The chapter on the Tīmūrid school is of particular interest to all students of Islamic painting as it furnishes new proof that Shīrāz was the principal cradle of the Tīmūrid style. Several of these manuscripts, such as the Cairo *Shāh-Nāme* of 1393 and the Berlin *Anthology* of 1420, were shown in the London exhibition. To this must be added a *Shāh-Nāme* of 1370/71 in the Topkapu Serail Library at Istanbul (M. Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, figs. 4-7), which is the earliest known work of the Shīrāz school. Under Shāh Rokh and his son Bāisonghor Mirzā, Herāt became the great center of the arts of the book. Two magnificent unknown manuscripts, a *Shāh-Nāme* of 1430 and *Kalīla wa Dimna* of about 1430, both in the Gulistan Museum, were shown for the first time in the London exhibition. In these two manuscripts and those related to them, particularly the *Kalīla wa Dimna* in Istanbul, written in Herāt in 1430 (M. Aga-Oglu, *op. cit.*, figs. 10-14), the characteristics of the Tīmūrid school are fully developed. The painters working for Bāisonghor Mirzā and Shāh Rokh were great craftsmen. There is a certain formality and great richness of detail combined with brilliant colors, which recalls contemporary illuminations. The art of illumination brought to perfection under the Tīmū-

rids, had a great influence on miniature painting. The *Shāh-Nāme* of the Gulistan Museum was finished in January, 1430, that is, three years later than the new edition of the *Shāh-Nāme* made by order of Bāisonghor, which seems to have been lost. In this connection it might be of interest to mention a copy of a large *Shāh-Nāme* in the New York Public Library dated A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614), the miniatures of which are in the Tīmūrid style similar to that of the Gulistan manuscript. It is quite possible that it is a MS. of the now lost original *Shāh-Nāme* of Bāisonghor, copied by order of Shāh 'Abbās in his academy of painting at Isfahān.

One of the most difficult and complicated problems in the history of Islamic painting is that of the painter Bihzād, to whom all sorts of miniatures are indiscriminately attributed. The London exhibition reunited a number of illustrated manuscripts and single miniatures bearing signatures of Bihzād or attributed to him, giving thus to scholars an opportunity to sift the whole problem again. I agree entirely with the authors of this book that the basis for the study of the Bihzād problem rests, principally, on four signed miniatures in the Cairo *Būstān* of A.H. 893 (A.D. 1488). The signatures of Bihzād seem to be genuine and are quite different from those added later by copyists or forgers. In these miniatures Bihzād's style reaches its height and is quite different from that seen in miniatures wrongly attributed to this master. The problem is also complicated by the similarity of Bihzād's style to that of other contemporary artists or his pupils, as for instance Kāsim 'Alī, whose signature is found on seven miniatures in the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī at the British Museum, dated 1495. One of the controversial manuscripts is the *Zafar-Nāme* in the collection of Robert Garrett in Baltimore, dated A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467). As the authors justly remark, the miniatures appear to be subsequent to 1467. This manuscript was published in a monograph

by Sir Thomas Arnold, who accepts the attribution of the miniatures to Bihzād, basing it on a note written on the front page by the Mughal emperor Djāhāngīr. An unprejudiced analysis of the miniatures reveals an inventiveness of composition and an animation of action worthy of a great painter. The realism and the facial types are known from the authentic work of Bihzād and Qāsim 'Alī. The color scheme is somewhat brighter than is usual in Bihzād paintings which the authors attribute to a later overpainting done probably in India. Whether by Bihzād or not the miniatures of this manuscript belong certainly to the school of Bihzād and must be classified among masterpieces of the later Tīmūrid period.

In the chapter on the early Şafawīd period the authors begin with an account of the school of Bukhārā, where Herāt traditions continued during the XVI century. Many Herāt artists migrated or were exiled to Bukhārā by Uzbēk princes, so that frequently characteristics of the former school are prevalent in the early Bukhārā manuscripts. I cannot agree with the authors that the miniatures of Louis Cartier's manuscript of *Gūy u Chawgān* or "The Ball and Polo Stick," copied in Herāt by 'Alī al-Husāmī in 1522/23 (pl. 78b), are later additions by Bukhārā artists. The style and the costumes of the miniatures show all the characteristics of the Herāt school of the early XVI century.

The rest of the chapter is devoted to the great painters working at Tabrīz at the court of the Şafawīd rulers. The illustrated manuscripts written for Shāh Tahmāsp are among the most sumptuous ever produced in the East. Works of such artists as Sultān Muḥammad or Mīrak are based on several signed miniatures, particularly those in the Nizāmī of the British Museum and the *Dīwān* of Hāfiẓ in the Louis Cartier collection in Paris. The latter manuscript is assigned rightly to about 1517, when the Tabrīz artists were still under the influence of the

Herāt school. Five paintings in the Nizāmī show signatures of Mīrak. Whether they are actually signed by him or are attributions is difficult to say. There is a great similarity between all the paintings of the British Museum Nizāmī, probably due to the fact that they represent a court style and not so much the individual style of artists.

In the sixth chapter the authors discuss Persian painting under Shāh 'Abbās and his successors. The greatest painter of this period was Riḳā-yi 'Abbāsī, to whom frequently are attributed drawings and miniatures bearing signatures containing the name Riḳā (see pp. 156–157). The whole problem is far from being solved and requires further research which should begin with a classification of all works signed with the various forms of the name Riḳā.

With its splendid illustrations this publication of the Oxford Press will remain for some time the standard work on Persian miniature painting.

M. S. DIMAND

Das Islamische Milet. Von Karl Wulzinger, Paul Wittek, Friedrich Sarre. Unter Mitwirkung von Th. Menzel, J. H. Mordtmann, A. Zippelius. 127 pp. 72 illus. and 68 pls. Berlin und Leipzig, Verlag Walter De Gruyter und Co., 1935.

The book is Volume III, fascicle 4, of a series entitled *Milet, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899* published under the direction of Theodor Wiegand by the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. The first chapter by Dr. Paul Wittek is devoted to the history of Milet (Turkish Balat) since the conquest of Western Asia Minor by the Seldjūks until about the middle of the XVII century. The writer outlines authoritatively the history of the Menteshe dynasty which ruled over the old Anatolian province of Carian during the XIII–XV centuries. An exhaustive study

on the same subject, prepared originally for this volume by the author, was published under the title "Das Fürstentum von Menteshe" in *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, Heft 3 in 1934. The chapter is not only a sketch of the political history of a hitherto scarcely known period, but it gives us also a picture of the cultural life which is of importance for understanding Turkish historical development in general. The following chapter on the architectural monuments of the city is from the pen of Prof. Karl Wulzinger, the author of numerous treatises on Turkish architecture. The existing monuments are divided in two parts: religious and secular buildings. The first group comprises five mosques and one Tekke (monastery). The most important among these is the "Great Mosque" of Ilyās Bey, a member of the Menteshe dynasty. According to the inscriptions it was erected in the year 1404 A.D. by a Turkish architect Naşr al-Dīn Altanā. Although of a simple ground plan, square with a coupola, the mosque is built of very fine white marble and is adorned both on the exterior and interior with rich sculptural ornaments. The second mosque of interest included in the study of monuments in Milet is that of Peruz Bey in Milas. Built by the architect, Hasan ibn 'Abd Allāh, in the year 1394 A.D., its ground plan and constructive features are of importance for the development of Turkish mosque architecture. (The Mosque was published for the first time by the author in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der Technischen Hochschule Karlsruhe*, pp. 161 ff., 1925.) This monographic study is an excellent example of scholarly work and is illustrated with many photographs and drawings.

The third chapter by Prof. Friedrich Sarre treats the potteries discovered during the excavation of Miletus. The result of the study is of surprising importance since we know little about the early period of Turkish pottery production in Asia Minor. Besides much valuable

information on known types, Prof. Sarre proves definitely the Seldjūq origin of a group with blue or green painted decoration over a white slip. Of no less importance is the establishing of a stylistic and technical connection between the local ceramic of Milet and the majolica production of Toscana in the XV century.

The last chapter comprises a discussion of architectural inscriptions and those on tombstones. The material published is important from both an epigraphical and artistic point of view. Among the reproduced gravestones are interesting examples not only of Islamic paleography but also of ornament.

The book is beautifully produced and is an excellent addition to the literature of the history of Turkish art.

M. AGA-ÖGLÜ

Exposition d'art persan. Par Gaston Wiet. VIII + 97 pp. 72 pls. Le Caire, L'Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1935.

The Société des Amis de l'Art, which has aided in creating interest in various fields of Art in Egypt, this year undertook the task of an Exposition of Persian Art which was held at the Palais Tigrane (January–February, 1935). Drawing from such rich private Egyptian collections as those of H.H. Prince Youssef Kamal, H.H. Amr Ibrahim, Ali Pasha Ibrahim, R. A. Harari, and Gamsaragan Bey, which are almost inaccessible for many European and American scholars, the collection of the Arabic Museum, and the Khedivial Library, and augmented by the miniatures sent by Mr. Chester Beatty, who can, perhaps, be considered almost a resident of Egypt, as well as objects loaned by the important Cairo dealers, Tano, Nahman, Ispenian, Khawam, and others, the Exposition provided a fairly complete display of the Persian influence on Egyptian Islamic Art particularly in the fields of textiles, wood, and lusterware.

The catalogue and album for the exposition published by M. Gaston Wiet, include several hitherto undescribed objects and a fairly complete account of the important pieces in Egyptian private collections. The album is beautifully illustrated with the important objects from the exposition. The brevity of the descriptions in the Catalogue is to be regretted.

A large number of sixteenth and seventeenth century Persian silk fabrics were exhibited of which one of the more interesting was a seventeenth century embroidered textile. Against its black background is a finely conventionalized design of animal and human forms effectively used in evolving a colorful surface of broken areas surrounding a large central medallion of four highly stylized animals. It is a charming example of the type of artistry for which the period is justly noted (*Album*, Pl. 13, T23). But perhaps the most spectacular textile was a ninth century fragment of Egyptian origin shown by Mr. P. Tano and now in the collection of Matossian. A classic example of a Sassanid inspired design, it represents in heraldic arrangement two falcons in flight each clutching a gazelle in its talons. The figures are in red (*Album*, Pl. 1, T1).

Among the many rugs displayed two from the seventeenth century were of particular interest. One has a complex arabesque pattern of red and blue against a white background with red used as the border color (*Cat.* T152), the other a fragment of a vase carpet with choice balance of color in the large floral medallions, is a fine example of Isfahan workmanship (*Cat.* T42).

The pottery collection contained polychrome Rayy bowls, luster tiles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and faience pieces. An interesting example of the last group was a ninth century faience bowl of Rayy origin from the collection of Ali Pasha Ibrahim. The inside of the bowl is decorated with a boldly painted fig-

ure in a seated position, holding a musical instrument. The background is filled with points and the edge finished by a band of scallops (*Cat.* Cr).

Mr. R. Harari's widely known metal collection furnished three of the most interesting examples in this medium. A slender ninth century bronze ewer of graceful shape retains the classical refinement of Sassanid style; its unusual unity is shown by the treatment of the handle so well designed within the composition of the piece (*Album*, Pl. 43, M39). The twelfth century incense burner in the form of a very assured little bird shows a pleasing shape combined with decorative simplicity which is none the less as ornamental as the more elaborate inlaid candlestick of the same period. The latter combines a forceful treatment of areas in relief with bands of floral designs and script. The two registers decorated with a pattern of rabbits between seated lions are unusually charming. The base is surmounted by a row of free standing birds (*Album*, Pl. 44, M40, Pl. 45, M43).

The manuscripts and miniatures shown, besides those from the collection of Mr. Chester Beatty, were from various Egyptian collections and the Khedivial Library, and included the famous manuscript of *Bustan* by Behzād. Among the less familiar miniatures was an interesting seventeenth century representation of an elaborately dressed young Ottoman Prince engaged in painting. This is considered a copy of a picture attributed to Gentile Bellini (*Album*, Pl. 516).

The recently discovered tenth century fresco fragments from south of Cairo merited the attention which they received. Though discovered several years ago the public was given its first opportunity to examine them on this occasion. The seven fragments which were exhibited displayed traditional elements of design, such as black bands decorated with white dots, unrolling tendril patterns, and interlaced borders,

combined with very decorative birds and rabbits. It is in the treatment of the figures that one finds the close relationship with Persia. The fragment, P₁, depicts a seated gentleman holding a cup, his head framed by a nimbus, a flowing scarf is carried between his arms. The costume is colorfully decorated with red flowers. The position of the figure is in the familiar oriental manner, and the relationship with the fresco painting of Sāmarrā is striking.

It is unfortunate that the arrangement committee did not have at its disposal a more suitable building for the display of the objects.

PETER RUTHVEN

The Spirit of Man in Asian Art. By Laurence Binyon. 217 pp. 70 pls. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935.

In these six lectures—the Charles Eliot Norton lectures delivered at Harvard in 1933–34—Dr. Binyon presents a broadly interpretative, yet simple and clear, discussion of the arts of Asia. Specific illustrations are used to clarify the underlying principles; the book gives one, with the insight and sympathy of a man of Dr. Binyon's years of scholarship, an evaluation of the arts of India, China, Persia and Japan taken as a whole. He offers discriminating suggestions of inter-relationships between the arts of these countries, and he judiciously points out similarities and contrasts with phases of Western art. He says: “. . . this word ‘influence’ is often much abused. . . . We must distinguish, and note what is the dominant element, what is merely an ingredient.”

In the first lecture we find this penetrating observation on Chinese art: “This then is one thing that I would emphasize in Chinese art: its continuity with the primitive and its slowly widening and all-embracing sympathy with living things. It has its roots deep in the earth.” The

second lecture deals with Early Indian art, and the impact of Buddhism on Chinese art and thought; China, Dr. Binyon says, did not borrow superficially, but in assimilating the inspiration of Buddhist ideals remained true to native traditions. Dr. Binyon then portrays the essence of Chinese landscape painting, and emphasizes the importance of the conception of Space. He characterizes Japanese art, showing the close relationship between the art and the period in which it was produced; and in discussing Japanese prints he cites their richness of invention and their abstract quality.

In the lecture on Persia Dr. Binyon points out the mingling of elements from various civilizations in her art. Achaemenid art, later revived in Sasanian times, borrows from others yet is individual; the conquest of Alexander brings new motives into the art of the Parthian period. The Arab conquest could not destroy the Persian instinct for pictorial or plastic art. Dr. Binyon traces in painting the growth of a national Persian style. He discusses the fostering of a school of religious art by the Manichaeans during the Sasanian period. The style of painting in Mesopotamia, after the Arab invasion, was based on late classical art; then inspiration comes from China, with increasing success in assimilation, leading to the complete Persian style. Under Timūr we have his patronage of art; pictorial conventions are built up. Dr. Binyon points out the Persian love for gardens; formality of design; love of bright colors; the static quality of their art; a different conception of space from the Chinese; a sense of drama; and that their art lends itself well to their gift for mysticism. The Persian style passes to India, to the Moghul court, where however European influence is even stronger; but away from the court is found an art important for the beauty of its calligraphic line.

HELEN HALL

Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayencetechnik. Von H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre, R. Winderlich. 69 pp. 4 pls. Istanbul, Universum Druckerei, 1935.

In this book forming the third fascicle of *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, published by the Abteilung Istanbul des Archäologischen Institutes des Deutschen Reiches, we have before us a discovery of invaluable importance made by Professor Hellmut Ritter. During his research work in the libraries of Istanbul he found a monographic treatise on precious stones and perfumes written in Persian by Abu 'l-Kasim 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Tāhīr from Kāshān, and dated 700 A.H. (1300 A.D.). The last chapter of this manuscript, which forms the subject of the reviewed book, is a detailed description and explanation of the technique of glazing pottery, and thus is a unique document of its kind among the historical sources on Islamic art. The treatise is of exceptional importance because its author was a member of a family of potters from whose atelier in Kāshān came a number of magnificent mihrābs. In the publication of the Persian text with a German translation Prof. Ritter was assisted by Prof. Julius Ruska, a scholar of natural sciences of the Orient, and the chemical expert, Dr. R. Winderlich.

Based on the information of this technical treatise Prof. Friedrich Sarre gives in the last chapter of the book a very valuable study of the known XIII and XIV century ceramics of Kāshān origin.

The book is a significant proof how important it can be if the historians and philologists, besides their own immediate interests, will assist the historians of art in solving many problems. Prof. Ritter should be congratulated for giving such a splendid example of this cooperation.

M. AGA-ÖGLÜ

A Guide to an Exhibition of Oriental Rugs and Textiles. By M. S. Dimand. 36 pp. 35 pls. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1935.

Far more than a guide to this special exhibit, Dr. Dimand has written a nicely condensed history of Islamic rugs and textiles. In plan the book follows the general outline of material presented in the chapters on "Textiles" and "Rugs" in his *Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930), but recent discoveries and new problems are included as well as splendid descriptions of the objects in the exhibit, many of which had never before been shown. After a fine summary of the pre-Islamic period there is an excellent discussion of Persian rugs of the XVI and XVII centuries, including important examples from other collections, which are "classified into groups on the basis of their designs rather than the localities in which they were woven, as our knowledge of the latter still remains more or less hypothetical" (Medallion Rugs, Animal Rugs, Vase Rugs, Rugs with Floral Design, Silk Rugs). The following sections are equally valuable: Persian Tapestries, Indian Rugs, Turkish Rugs, Egyptian Rugs, The Early History of Persian Silk Weaving, The Silk Weaving of the Safavid Period, Turkish Textiles, and Indian Textiles (Hindu and Mughal examples). Combined with the above material are many literary and historical references which add considerable interest to this very useful guide.

ISABEL HUBBARD

Sztuka Islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII Wieku (The Art of Islam in Poland in the XVII and XVIII Centuries). By Tadeusz Mañkowski. 126 pp. 40 pls. Kraków, 1935.

The book is a publication of Polska Akademia Umiejętności, *Rozprawy Wydziału Filo-*

logicznego, T. LXIV, nr. 3. The author discusses the commercial and cultural relations of Poland and the Islamic countries in the XVII and XVIII centuries and describes how these gave rise to the orientalist crafts of the south-eastern sections of Poland. The origin of the traditional mode of thought and life of that period, so-called Sarmatism, is sought in the East. An excellent glossary of the names of Oriental textiles, which found their way into the Polish language is appended. This book is an important and valuable addition to the knowledge of the history of art in Poland and the influences which shaped its course.

The subject of the book was published in summarized form in English by the author in the present volume of *Ars Islamica*.

MARIE PARYSKI

Fantastic Fauna. Decorative Animals in Moslem Art. By Cleves Stead. 40 pp. 177 pls. Cairo, R. Schindler Publisher, 1935.

Beginning with a foreword by Mr. Gaston Wiet and a brief introduction by the authoress the book contains black and white drawings of animals from the Egyptian Islamic potteries in the Arab Art Museum in Cairo. The material is organized according to species, and chronologically comprises the period from IX–XVI century. An index of the illustrations indicating the museum number of the objects from which the drawings were made, their period, and a brief description of colours, makes the book to a certain extent useful.

The authoress' intention was not to survey the historical and artistic development of figural decoration, but merely "to give continued existence and expression" in the pages of her book "to the exquisite surge of life, born of artistic joy in conception and execution." Therefore the subject is treated amateurishly, without consideration of many interesting problems. As a result, the book will be of little assistance to students in their research. The recorded material is for the great part misleading. In many cases one and the same figural motif is repeated (Pl. 18, i, iv and v; Pl. 26, iii and iv; Pl. 28, i and iii; Pl. 43, i and iii; Pl. 50, v and vii) and some examples are neither of stylistic nor historical significance (Pl. 4, ii; Pl. 23, i; Pl. 52, i, iii and iv; Pl. 161, i and ii). Moreover, there is a large number of drawings from pottery fragments, showing only a portion of an animal, which could be omitted.

A few remarks in the introductory text about some of the figures are not appropriate in explanation. For example the well-known blazon representing an eagle over a cup (Pl. 113, i) is interpreted as a fowl and having "more of Christian symbolism than heraldic meaning" (For the blazon see L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, pp. 33 and 235); or, one of the birds on Pl. 76 is called "evil eyed creature" without any reason. However, in spite of these shortcomings we admire the indefatigable efforts of Miss C. Stead in presenting the artistic charm of Islamic figural decoration in the form of a picture book.

M. AGA-ÖGLU

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